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# Southeast Asia Report

VIETNAM

TAP CHI CONG SAN

No. 10, October 1985

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31 January 1986

## SOUTHEAST ASIA REPORT

### VIETNAM

#### TAP CHI CONG SAN

No. 10, October 1985

Except where indicated otherwise in the table of contents the following is a complete translation of the monthly theoretical and political journal of the Vietnam Communist Party published in Hanoi.

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## STRENGTHENING THE PARTY'S LEADERSHIP OF YOUTH WORK

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 10, Oct 85 pp 1-6

[Editorial]

[Text] Youths are an important part of the nation, are the shock force of the revolution. The nation is only strong when youths are strong. The strength of the nation includes the strength of youths.

Youths occupy an important position in political and social life, not only because they constitute the majority of the population but, more importantly, because they are young, able-bodied, enthusiastic and zealous, are educated in culture, science and technology and have the ability to undertake new and difficult jobs. In the history of our country, youths have always been the central force in production and combat, in social movements. For more than one-half century, the youths of our country have been playing an especially important role. "Our party was born of and established on the basis of the Association of Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth. This means that there was a stage in which youths played the role as the first persons to light the torch of the revolutionary movement in our country."(1)

Our party and Uncle Ho have attached very much importance to youth work and constantly concerned themselves with caring for, educating and training youths, with organizing and mobilizing youths to fulfill their revolutionary shock role, thus contributing to the glorious victories won by the country. Our party maintains that mobilizing youths is an important political task, a matter of strategic significance in every stage of the revolution. Uncle Ho said: "Youths are the future masters of the country...; whether the country is prosperous or poor, is weak or strong depends, to a large degree, upon youths."(2)

At present, our country is in the initial stage of the period of transition to socialism. The class struggle and the struggle between socialism and capitalism are still exceedingly sharp. Countless new issues, difficulties and complex problems have arisen that demand a solution, especially in the economic and social fields. In addition, the country must contend with the wide-ranging war of sabotage being waged by the Beijing expansionists and hegemonists in collaboration with the U.S. imperialists and other reactionary powers. On a worldwide scale, the struggle between the two opposing social

systems as well as the struggle between the three revolutionary currents and the bellicose imperialists and other reactionary powers are very bitter struggles. Every hour of every day, the enemy is looking for ways to win over and poison youths and plotting ways to sabotage socialism by attacking the very persons who are the shock force in socialist construction. This situation makes it even more necessary that the party strengthen its youth work and strongly develop the creative, shock role of youths while fully concerning itself with educating, organizing and training the young generation. Party Secretariat Resolution Number 26 on "strengthening the party's leadership of youth work" pointed out: "The purposes of performing good youth work are to insure the continuity and continuous development of our system and insure the present as well as the bright future of the nation of Vietnam."

There are now more than 15 million young men and women and 15 million teenagers and children living in our country. They account for nearly 60 percent of the population. Youths make up 65 percent of the labor force of industrial enterprises, 54 percent of the agricultural labor force, more than 80 percent of the armed forces, 50.7 percent of scientific and technical cadres who have a college and post-graduate education and 62 percent of middle level cadres. Millions of young men and women are studying at general middle schools, trade training schools, colleges and academies. Having been born and grown up during this great period in the nation's history and trained by the party and the new system, our youths have upheld the nation's heroic tradition, made outstanding contributions and rapidly matured. Many examples of the revolutionary heroism of the young generation of Vietnam have been seen in all fields, thus helping to bring glory to our fatherland.

On the national defense and security front, wave after wave of cadres, Youth Union members and youths have displayed a brave and tenacious fighting spirit, overcome every difficulty and adversity, won victory over every enemy, firmly defended the socialist fatherland, maintained political security and social order and safety and eagerly fulfilled our noble international obligation. The names of the slain heroes Le Dinh Chinh, Dinh Trong Lich, Le The Bui, Hoang Thi Hong Chiem...will live forever with our country.

On the productive labor front, the front of building the country, tens of millions of Youth Union members and youths, in the spirit "youths are present wherever they are needed, youths are wherever there is a difficult job to be performed," are taking the lead in socialist construction and socialist transformation. More progressive collectives and individuals are appearing with each passing day.

On the cultural, educational, scientific and technical fronts, large numbers of youths have been enthusiastically participating in the work of building the new life, building the new culture and molding the new man. The youths at schools have overcome many difficulties and are trying to teach well, learn well and build socialist schools. The cultural, scientific and technical standards of the young generation are constantly being raised.

Since 1976, more than 3 million youths have been accepted into the Youth Union and more than 2 million youths have been accepted into the Vietnam Youth

Federation. Through the "entire Youth Union participates in building the party" campaign, the Youth Union has introduced to the party nearly 1.8 million outstanding Youth Union members, 423,000 of whom have been accepted into the party. These youths account for 85 percent of the total number of persons accepted into the party in recent years.

However, as we enter the new stage of the revolution, our youths are also displaying some weaknesses and shortcomings. Most deserving of attention are the facts that the level of socialist awareness, the spirit of responsibility and the sense of organization and discipline of some youths are not high. More than a few persons have yet to adopt proper ideals and goals for themselves and still have only a vague concept of the current struggle. Their confidence and will to fight have declined and they waver in the face of the country's temporary difficulties. Some youths evade their obligation to the fatherland, are too lazy to work and study, are superstitious, lead a pragmatic, decadent way of life and violate state law.

The basic task in youth work in the present stage is to train the young generation to be new persons who work, exercise collective ownership, possess fine revolutionary ideals and carry on the cause of the party and nation in a loyal and outstanding manner. In terms of both guidelines and subject matter, the education of youths must have the aims of raising their political standards, their level of socialist awareness and their sense of organization and discipline, cultivating among them revolutionary virtues and a pure way of life and raising their cultural, scientific, technical, specialized and professional standards to insure that youths possess the full will and ability needed to exercise socialist collective ownership. In particular, we must concern ourselves with teaching to youths the ideals of communism, the Marxist-Leninist world view and socialist patriotism combined with proletarian internationalism, with the fine traditions of the nation and party so that youths gain a deep understanding of the lines and tasks of the revolution in order to clearly define their ideals, clearly define their responsibility to the revolutionary cause of our people. Youths must forge the pure and wholesome socialist way of life and lifestyle, must respect discipline and the law, must wage a determined struggle to rid themselves of everything that is a manifestation of the selfish, backward and decadent way of life of individualism.

The education and training of youths can only be of practical significance and produce concrete results by organizing youths and gaining their participation in revolutionary activities and combining education and training within the school with the training of youths in the ferment of life. Lenin pointed out: teaching communism to youths "consists not in giving them suave talks and moral precepts," but, more importantly, in forging them in the revolutionary struggle. He demanded that "the Young Communist League combine its education, learning and training with the labor of workers and peasants so as not to confine itself to schools or to reading communist books and pamphlets. Only by working side by side with workers and peasants can one become a genuine communist."(3)

The various party committee echelons and agencies of government must, through the Youth Union, organize and mobilize youths to display awareness, display

creativity in their work, display bravery in combat, overcome each difficulty and successfully meet the targets and carry out the tasks set by the party. In view of the enthusiasm of the young and the quickness with which they respond, youths must be the shock force on all fronts, must take the lead in performing new and difficult jobs, especially in the field of creating and applying scientific and technical advances in production, and participate in the effort to improve economic management, in the struggle to dismantle the management system based on bureaucratic centralism and subsidization and shift to economic accounting and socialist business practices. The consciousness and the actions of each Vietnamese youth today must reflect a desire to "live, fight, work and study in the example set by the great Uncle Ho," to "be ready to go anywhere and do anything for the socialist fatherland, for the sake of the happiness of the people."

The realities of the revolution are a great school for teaching and training youths. Rural youths must be organized and mobilized to take the lead in practicing intensive cultivation and multicropping, in expanding the amount of area under cultivation, in developing a diversified agriculture, in reorganizing production within their localities and throughout the country. The assault youth units must be further expanded so that millions of youths can be sent to build new economic zones in the Central Highlands, eastern Nam Bo, the Mekong Delta and the mountains of the North and sent to work at sea... Young workers must display a high spirit of self-reliance, overcome the difficulties they face and intensify the emulation movement to engage in productive labor and practice frugality. We must organize youth labor units and develop the various forms of communist youth projects, youth production sections and units and youth vehicles and machines in order to develop the shock role, the creative role of youths. The youths who work in the various distribution and circulation sectors must display a high spirit of dedicated, loyal service and adopt the civilized attitude of socialist commerce. The various forms of model youth stores must be developed. The youths in the armed forces and security forces must display a high will to fight, be technically skilled and perform good work, be highly disciplined and lead a wholesome life and be ready to defeat the tactics of the enemy in their wide-ranging war of sabotage, firmly defend the gains of the revolution and insure the wholesome development of youths. On the cultural and social front, youths must take the lead in the struggle to establish the civilized way of life, build families of the new culture, eliminate each vestige of backward culture and superstitions and eradicate all reactionary and pornographic culture.

In view of the large requirements involved in building and defending the fatherland today, it is necessary to concern ourselves with giving youths a clear understanding of the great honor and heavy responsibility of their generation to history. It must be made clear to every Youth Union member and youth that today's youths are living in the most glorious, most intense period in the country's history. Therefore, now, more than ever before, sacrificing and struggling for the revolution must be the greatest source of happiness in their lives.

In conjunction with mobilizing youths to contribute more and more to the cause of the revolution, the various party committee echelons, levels of government and mass organizations must give their attention to the legitimate interests

of youths. Positive steps must be taken to provide jobs for youths, beginning with those persons who have received training and discharged military personnel. Work-study schools and trade training centers must be developed and each capability that localities and basic production units have must be tapped in order to expand the various sectors and trades and provide jobs for young laborers. Specific policies must be enacted that support the material and spiritual lives of youths and uphold their right of collective ownership in all fields of activity.

Educating and training youths are the work of the entire party, of all the people, of the entire proletarian dictatorship system, work that is performed under the leadership of the party.

Direct and comprehensive leadership by the party is a matter of principle and the decisive prerequisite to success in youth work and the youth movement. All party committees must incorporate youth work in their program of regular activities and establish procedures for providing the Youth Union with close and regular leadership. In recent years, many party organizations have concerned themselves with youth work, with leading the activities of the Youth Union and the youth movement. However, there are still more than a few party committees that do not fully realize the strategic importance of the mobilization of youths and have, therefore, given light attention to and neglected this work. Many comrades do not see the schemes and actions being carried out by the enemy to win over and corrupt our youths with the intent of sabotaging our people's revolutionary cause. Many cadres and party members lack a sense of responsibility, are narrowminded and do not evaluate youths correctly. They only see the inadequacies of some youths, do not attach importance to tapping the creative abilities of the young and do not respect the right of collective ownership of youths. Some party committees have yet to properly guide the division of responsibilities and the coordination of activities among government agencies and mass organizations in caring for and training youths and have yet to fully develop the political role of the Youth Union organization.

Party committees must concern themselves even more with youth work, strengthen their leadership, inspection and supervision of Youth Union activities and concern themselves with building Youth Union organizations that are solid and strong politically, ideologically and organizationally so that the Youth Union is truly the shock force of the revolution, the militant reserve unit of the party, the school of communism of youths and the representative of the interests and the right of collective ownership of the young and fulfills its role in helping to build the party, build the administration as well as its role as the organization in charge of the Ho Chi Minh Vanguard Teenagers' Unit and the Ho Chi Minh Children's Unit. Party committee standing committees must establish the procedure of periodically working as a collective with the executive committee of the Youth Union and must periodically hold conferences to discuss and adopt necessary resolutions on youth work. Young, competent cadres who possess good personal qualities, have been challenged in the youth movement and truly have the respect and trust of the mass of youths must be selected to serve as Youth Union secretaries. Every cadre and party member has the responsibility of setting a good example for youths to study and follow, must maintain close contact with youths, listen to their opinions and

discuss and answer the questions that arise in their lives. Party members who are youths must participate in Youth Union activities and perform the tasks of the Youth Union member well.

In the work of strengthening and building the Youth Union, special attention must be given to strengthening the basic organizations of the Youth Union by strongly developing their membership, improving the quality of Youth Union members, strengthening the corps of Youth Union cadres and renovating the mode of activity of the Youth Union. Although the Youth Union has recently made efforts to organize, educate and mobilize youths and has made progress in improving its activities, both in terms of their form and the methods by which they are conducted, the Youth Union organizations at basic units are still weak; Youth Union members represent only a low percentage of the total number of youths, less than 30 percent; many youths have not been drawn into the organizations of the Youth Federation; the corps of Youth Union cadres still lacks sufficient cadres and is weak; and the mode of activity of the Youth Union has been improved slowly, is still bureaucratic and administrative and is not suited to the nature of the Youth Union's work or the special characteristics of the young.

The state considers youth work to be an important part of its socio-economic strategy. Both long-term and short-term plans must include specific provisions concerning this work and provide for appropriate investments in it. The economic and financial sectors must take appropriate measures to uphold the right of collective ownership of youths in productive labor and economic management, must improve the skills and look after the interests of young laborers. The educational, cultural, physical education-sports, public health and other sectors must give their attention to political and ideological education while meeting the needs of youths to learn, improve their health and participate in cultural activities. We must correct the practice of state agencies only placing emphasis upon mobilizing and using youths while giving light attention to training youths and not taking positive steps to meet the requirements involved in the wholesome development of youths.

The Vietnam Fatherland Front and the trade unions, the Women's Union, the Association of Collective Farmers...must consider youth work an important part of building and developing their organizations. Schools, labor collectives and social organizations, especially the family, have a very large responsibility in training the young generation. Through their intellect, their experience, their feelings and prestige, veterans of the revolution, heroes, educators, scientists, writers, artists...can make positive contributions to the education and training of "the revolutionary generations of tomorrow."

One very important factor in insuring the quality and effectiveness of youth work is the need to change and improve the methods by which youths are mobilized and improve the mode of activity of the Youth Union so that they are consistent with the new situation and tasks, with the characteristics of the young and the new needs of youths. We must combat the bureaucratic and administrative approach to Youth Union activities. Facts have shown that such forms of organization as "communist youth projects," "assault youth units," "shock youth units," "youth production units," "youth vehicles," "youth

machines," "youth counters," "socialist youth collectives," youth forums, the study of history and tradition, the various types of cultural and art activities, physical culture and sport activities...are good ways to bring youths together, to educate and train youths. These forms of organization must be developed even more. At the same time, appropriate attention must be given to the special characteristics of young women, of ethnic youths, religious youths, youths in the army, young students and youths in each different area of the country. We must closely combine and coordinate all forces and mass organizations and use, in a way that is well coordinated, every means and method we have to educate and train youths and teenagers and widely assemble them within all types of suitable organizations. A determined struggle must be waged to thwart each scheme and action of the enemy to distort the outlook of the young generation, to provoke, divide, win over or sabotage the young generation.

In his Testament, Uncle Ho advised us: training the revolutionary generations of tomorrow is very important and very necessary work. The party must concern itself with teaching revolutionary ethics to youths, with training them to be the persons who will carry on the cause of socialist construction.

Our entire party and all our people must be determined to successfully implement these words of advice of Uncle Ho.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Le Duan: "Ta nhât dinh thang, dich nhât dinh thua,"[We Will Surely Win Victory, the Enemy Will Surely Be Defeated], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1965, pp 48-49.
2. Ho Chi Minh: "Toan tap,"[Collected Works], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1984, Volume IV, p 402.
3. V.I. Lenin: "Collected Works," Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1978, Volume 41, p 376.

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ACHIEVING HIGHER PRODUCTIVITY, QUALITY AND EFFICIENCY ON THE BASIS OF  
DISMANTLING BUREAUCRATIC CENTRALISM AND SUBSIDIZATION AND SHIFTING ENTIRELY TO  
ECONOMIC ACCOUNTING AND SOCIALIST BUSINESS PRACTICES

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 10, Oct 85 pp 7-12

[Unattributed article]

[Text] Achieving higher productivity, quality and efficiency is an objective requirement in the development of the socialist economy. The goal of the socialist system of production is to produce much wealth in order to constantly satisfy the rising material and cultural needs of each member of society. To achieve this goal, each production unit must not only endeavor to rapidly increase its product output, but must also concern itself with product quality, with economic efficiency, that is, must produce the largest possible output of products of the highest possible quality at the lowest possible cost with the aim of serving the interests of the working people. Therefore, in socialist production and business, productivity, quality and efficiency are indexes by which the results of the activities of every economic unit and the entire economy are evaluated and the measurement of how well the economic laws of socialism are being applied in the initial stage of the period of transition to socialism in our country.

In recent years, our party and state have adopted numerous policies and measures designed to encourage production units to achieve higher productivity, quality and efficiency in their production and business. These correct policies and measures have had the effect of stimulating the development of production. The value of industrial output rose by 7.5 percent in 1984. Central industry made marked progress in 1984. The output of a number of important industrial goods increased considerably compared to 1983. Local industry and small industry and the handicraft trades developed rather well. As a result, we obtained a number of additional products with which to serve the needs of production and everyday life. Consumer goods production increased by 10 percent compared to 1983 and agricultural production continued to develop. Grain output (during the past 4 years) has risen at the average annual rate of nearly 1 million tons.

Despite these results, our country's economy is, generally speaking, still experiencing many difficulties, is still marked by many major imbalances and



economic growth is not uniform, strong or steady. Although output has risen, productivity, quality and efficiency are still low.

The objective causes of the above situation are the very underdeveloped state of material-technical bases, the shortage of raw materials and supplies, repeated natural disasters, the enemy's intensification of their wide-ranging sabotage...

The subjective causes are: within the management system, conservatism, bureaucratic centralism and subsidization are still widely prevalent; the view concerning cost accounting and socialist business practices is not well understood; and many economic units have been relying upon state allocations (operating at any price) and thus do not need to calculate profit or loss. Although some units and enterprises have tried to meet or exceed production plan quotas on product output, their product quality and economic efficiency are still very low.

Many production capabilities are not being fully utilized. The potentials that lie in labor, arable land and the various sectors and trades have not been developed well. There is still a serious waste of production capacity and capital. Social labor productivity is still very low.

The fact that the conditions needed to achieve higher productivity, quality and production efficiency, such as prices, wages and so forth, have not been established in a fundamental or well coordinated way has directly affected the development of the national economy.

The lesson that can be drawn is: restructuring basic production and business units, renovating the management system, dismantling the system of bureaucratic centralism and subsidization, shifting entirely to economic accounting and socialist business practices and resolving the problems of prices, wages, money and so forth in a way that is timely and well coordinated are the factors of decisive significance in the process of raising the productivity, quality and efficiency of the economy in the present stage.

Productivity, quality and efficiency constitute an entity and stimulate one another's development. The approach to the issue of productivity, quality and efficiency varies depending upon the level of development of production forces and the degree of development of production relations. Therefore, which approach to the issue of productivity, quality and efficiency is consistent with our country's actual situation in the initial stage of the period of transition to socialism, a stage during which the level of development of production forces is still low, labor is mainly manual labor, the state is unable to provide a full and timely supply of raw materials and supplies for production and socialist production relations are still in the process of being formed (the economy still consists of many different segments)?

Everyone understands the need to make every effort to raise labor productivity because it is the measurement of the level of development of the production capacity of a society, is a pressing requirement in improving the material and cultural lives of the people. V.I. Lenin pointed out: "Once it seizes state power, the proletariat has one basic, vital interest, to raise the output of

products and increase the production forces of society on a large scale."(1) In our country, a backward agricultural country that is advancing to socialism, a country in which everything is in short supply, a country that has had to bear the serious consequences of a long and violent war, endeavoring to quickly increase the social product is a matter of even more pressing importance in helping to stabilize the socio-economic situation in the years ahead and lay the groundwork for development in subsequent years.

Constantly rising labor productivity is an objective law of socialism, is the basis for insuring that production forces are strengthened and socialist production relations are solidified. Higher social labor productivity is expressed mainly in economizing on human labor and past labor on a society-wide scale. Social production increases as a result of raising social labor productivity, of mobilizing the entire social labor force to produce much material wealth within a specified amount of time. We must, as the resolution of the 3rd [as published] Party Plenum emphasized, "know the labor force, closely manage labor, endeavor to provide jobs to laborers..." The potentials of our country's economy are still rather large: only a very low percentage of machine and equipment capacity is in use; in particular, there is arable land that has not been developed or put to good use... Meanwhile, the labor in the cities and countryside, in the various sectors is not being fully utilized and many persons are unemployed. The important and urgent problem we face now is that we must find every way (consistent with our actual capabilities) to place in production jobs persons who are able to work and make the best possible use of the labor force and existing machine and equipment capacity so that we can produce many products for society. To do this, we must direct our efforts toward agricultural production, toward accelerating livestock production, expanding the trade sector, developing the forest products and fishing industries and developing small industry, the handicraft trades and the services in the cities. Most importantly, we must "utilize all 27 million laborers and make the best possible use of the 7 million hectares of agricultural land now being farmed, the nearly 12 million hectares of land available for forestry and the nearly 13 million hectares in fields, flood plains, hills and terraces not now being used."(2)

Providing a job for everyone in productive labor on the basis of developing existing capabilities and potentials in a thorough and economical manner in order to quickly increase the output of products for society, this is the way to raise social labor productivity and thereby help to stabilize and gradually improve the standard of living of the people.

The effort to quickly increase product output must be closely tied to insuring that product quality meets stipulated standards. How should the issue of product quality be raised in view of the specific circumstances of our economy today? Some persons maintain that when there is a scarcity of goods and products on the market and supply does not meet demand, it is enough merely to produce many products. The essence of this view is that quantity and quality are incompatible, that increasing the output of products requires that product quality be reduced and vice versa. As a result of their pursuit of quantity, some enterprises have failed to comply with industrial standards and have produced products of poor quality. For example, bicycle tires that once lasted for a few years now only last for 5 or 7 months. Many other products

cannot be marketed because their quality is not good. Some export goods that have not met specifications have been returned by foreign countries or had to be destroyed... This situation has caused a large loss of public funds and is costly to consumers. At a time when raw materials and supplies are scarce, some items must be purchased from foreign countries and it is necessary to attach importance to quality control, some units and enterprises are doing just the opposite and causing harm to the economy.

The socialist economy is a planned commodity economy. By endeavoring to raise product quality, we are endeavoring to increase the use value of products, which is the same as producing additional products without using additional raw materials and supplies. On the other hand, at a time when the people are still encountering many difficulties in their daily lives, increasing the use value, broadening the variety and lengthening the life of consumer goods are not only important measures in economizing on capital for the state, but also reduce the expenses of consumers, increase their purchasing power and improve their standard of living. Our country is still poor and the income of the people is very low. One requirement we face is the need to develop every potential, to make full use of every existing capability in terms of fuel, raw materials, supplies and so forth in order to produce many durable consumer goods of high quality to serve the daily needs of the people. This is the guideline for improving product quality and is also a practical requirement, a requirement that is not too high, a requirement that we are fully capable of meeting.

Our party considers practicing frugality to be a national policy. In absolute terms, economizing on labor costs means reducing the costs of human labor and materialized labor per product unit. In relative terms, it means increasing the use value of products. Increasing the use value of products means making products that are of higher quality, are more durable... and cutting costs per product unit. This is a matter of extremely important significance in increasing the economic efficiency of production.

The goal of socialist production and business is to meet the rising needs of the working people. In order for socialist production and business to meet the requirement of the fundamental economic law of socialism, it is necessary to calculate economic efficiency. Economic efficiency mainly means producing the largest possible quantity of products of the highest possible quality with the lowest possible expenditure of past labor and human labor with the aim of serving the interests of the working people. During the initial stage of the period of transition in our country, when the material-technical bases of socialism are being built, socialist production relations are in the process of being formed and consolidated, millions of persons are unemployed as a result of the aftermath of the war..., we must try to provide everyone with a job and meet the pressing material and cultural needs of the laborer. Making full use of the labor force, combining labor with arable land, expanding the sectors and trades and making full use of existing material-technical bases in order to produce the largest possible quantity of products at the lowest possible costs, these are the guidelines for raising our economic efficiency at this point in time. Operating on the basis of bureaucratic centralism and subsidization, as we have long been doing, has had adverse effects upon the economy. At a time when our country is poor and we should be following

Lenin's teaching to "keep a close and honest accounting of money, spend money frugally..."(3), more than a few units and enterprises are doing just the opposite. The fact that some production units consider the capital and supplies received from the state to be "a gift from above," as a result of which they do not compute production costs or calculate profit and loss, the fact that prices do not reflect value (prices are lower than the value of products), the fact that distribution is heavily based on averages...have led to the wealth of the people being squandered and property of the state being lost. Therefore, to insure economic efficiency, we must quickly dismantle the system of bureaucratic centralism and subsidization and implement economic accounting and socialist business practices. Every enterprise and economic unit must operate on the basis of calculations that insure it of a profit while enabling it to meet the common needs of all society.

Ordinarily, productivity, quality and efficiency move in the same direction and stimulate one another's development. However, in the initial stage of the period of transition, due to the impact of many factors, productivity, quality and efficiency frequently do not develop in the same direction. Sometimes, output increases but product quality declines or the gross social product increases but costs per product unit are higher and economic efficiency is low. The universal situation we face today is that although the quantity of products being produced is not large, the quality of some products is very poor and production and business efficiency is still being given light attention. To achieve higher productivity, quality and efficiency, it is necessary to apply a system of economic, technical, organizational, managerial and other measures. To begin with, we must restructure and reorganize production at all central and local enterprises and all basic units of the different segments of the economy by economic-technical sector in a way that closely combines the sector with the territory and the locality. The purposes of restructuring production are to develop each capability and potential; make full and effective use of all existing capacity and new, supplemental capacity; practice thorough frugality in the use of energy and raw materials; increase the percentage of machine capacity utilized; and develop the strengths that lie in our labor and arable land while attaching importance to promoting intensive cultivation and multicropping, expanding the amount of area under cultivation, developing the trade sector and providing jobs for laborers. To achieve higher productivity, quality and efficiency, it is also necessary to take positive and bold steps to shift those basic units that lack the production conditions needed to complete their assigned task to the production of different types of products, if deemed necessary. Determined steps must be taken to dismantle those basic units that are incapable of producing efficiently, have long been operating at a loss and have become a heavy burden to the economy.

The main obstacle to efforts to achieve higher productivity, quality and efficiency is the present system of management based on bureaucratic centralism and subsidization. This system has prevented localities and basic units from displaying dynamism and creativity and placed them in a position in which they are always dependent, always deprived of initiative, always confused and relying upon supplies provided by the upper level. The essence of subsidization is that every cost item within production and business units is paid through funds allocated by the state, there is "funding for all

expenditures," which leads to the creation of artificial needs for raw materials, capital, etc. Many places tell the upper level that they need two or three times more than they actually do just so they can get additional materials, capital and so forth, the more the better, from the state for their unit (including raw materials and supplies that they do not need). This is one of the main reasons for the decentralization in management, the waste in the use of materials, capital, etc.

The principle of economizing on work time demands that the cost of human labor and the cost of past labor per product unit be computed. At present, we lack all the conditions needed to compute these factors. First, due to bureaucratic centralism and subsidization, prices do not reflect value and are, in fact, far below value. Secondly, wages are no longer a factor of production, no longer stimulate production, because they encompass many factors that are irrational. Resolving the price and wage problems has become a pressing requirement because they are directly related to the living and working conditions of the laborer and to many aspects of production and business. Prices are the monetary expression of value. Prices that are correct fully reflect the amount of social labor that need be expended to produce these goods. Wages reflect the expenditure of human labor. The worker uses these wages to purchase all the means of consumption needed to support himself and his family. In the final analysis, to economize on work time is to reduce costs, reduce production costs (reduce the cost of human labor or past labor or reduce the costs of both human labor and past labor)--which is the basic factor in achieving higher productivity, quality and efficiency. On the other hand, only when production costs are fully calculated does the basis exist for setting enterprise wholesale prices and industrial wholesale prices in a rational manner--which is the basic prerequisite to practicing cost accounting.

Efforts to achieve higher productivity, quality and efficiency also depend upon the following factors: ideological education, improving the organizational structure, improving the management of production, making technological improvements, etc. Therefore, together with intensifying our ideological and organizational efforts with the aim of teaching and mobilizing the masses to engage in spirited emulation to achieve high productivity, quality and efficiency in their work, it is necessary to take a series of measures in the areas of improving the management of production, making technological improvements, improving the organization of labor and rationalizing production. For the foreseeable future, we lack the conditions needed to modernize our equipment, machinery and so forth and must, for the most part, continue to make full use of existing material-technical bases. Therefore, we must strengthen our technical management while closely managing and making good use of the force of technical cadres and workers and skilled laborers. More attention must be given to providing cadres and direct production workers with training in cultural subjects, science, technology, organization and management, to expanding their exercise of collective ownership and to creating the conditions for the masses to participate in enterprise management under the leadership of the party.

There must be strict adherence to the principle of distribution in accordance with labor: those who do much work, receive much; those who do little work,

receive little; and those who are able to work but do not, receive nothing. This is the best way to achieve higher productivity, quality and efficiency.

Achieving higher productivity, quality and efficiency is an extremely important matter of decisive significance in the development of the national economy. Therefore, it is necessary to further strengthen the leadership provided by the party, further improve the management effectiveness of the state apparatus, completely dismantle the system of bureaucratic centralism and subsidization and shift entirely to economic accounting and socialist business practices, thus insuring centralized, unified leadership by the central level while enabling the basic units and localities to display greater initiative and creativity in order to develop and make full use of each capability and potential, especially the capabilities that lie in our labor and arable land, in existing equipment and machinery, so that we can quickly achieve higher productivity, quality and efficiency.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. V.I. Lenin: "Collected Works," Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1978, Volume 44, p 422.
2. The resolution of the 5th Party Plenum.
3. V.I. Lenin: "Collected Works," Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1977, Volume 36, p 211.

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## INCREASING THE FIGHTING STRENGTH OF THE SUBWARD PARTY ORGANIZATIONS

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 10, Oct 85 pp 13-20

[Article by Nguyen Duc Tam]

[Text] I. The Position of the Subward Level and the Leadership Responsibilities of the Subward Party Organization

To us, urban development, in general, and the building of the subward level, in particular, are relatively new undertakings. In the course of carrying out the socialist revolution, especially since the liberation of the South and the reunification of the country, we have been gradually structuring the organization of the administrative units within the cities to be consistent with our country's specific circumstances and meet the requirements involved in changing and improving the management system.

To date, we have established the subward as the basic level administrative unit in the municipalities and cities, within a four-level system of administration that extends from the central to the basic levels. The subward people's council, the organ of state power within the locality, is elected by the local people and is responsible to them and the administration on the upper level. The subward people's council decides upon and takes measures to build the subward in every respect, insure economic and cultural development, raise the living standards of the people and complete the tasks assigned by the upper level. The subward has the authority to decide the plan and the budget estimates of the locality and approve the implementation of the locality's plan and the settlement of its budget accounts.

Thus, the subward occupies a very important position in all areas of politics, the economy, culture, society, national defense and security. The subward is a basic level that has its own plan and budget. This assertion is the combined result of the profound development of the subward level throughout the country with the aim of supporting the line of our party on building the economy and is based on the realities of our country in the initial stage of the period of transition to socialism.

The actual experience of Ho Chi Minh City, the capital Hanoi and Haiphong has shown that progressive subwards are those that know their functions and tasks, clearly understand the strengths and special characteristics of the locality,

correctly apply the positions and policies of the party and state to the locality and launch mass movements to develop the locality's potentials. Many subwards have displayed a great deal of dynamism and creativity. Through the establishment of economic ties, they have combined their labor, materials and capital with those of other localities. By developing small industry and handicraft production, developing their marketing cooperatives, developing cultural activities, the services, the household economy and so forth, they have provided jobs within the subward. They have closely combined the transformation of production relations and the management of the market with developing production, organizing everyday life and maintaining security and order within the subward.

Conversely, the non-progressive subwards are subwards that have not clearly defined their role and position, do not see the full scope of their management responsibilities, especially with regard to the economy, and, as a result, have not given appropriate attention to guiding the development of production, business and the services within the subward. The management system based on bureaucratic centralism and subsidization has turned the subwards into units that are passive and rely upon others.

On 12 June 1985 the Party Secretariat issued Directive Number 64 CT/TU "on increasing the responsibility and fighting strength of the basic party organizations of the subwards and building party organizations of the subwards and precincts (cities and municipalities subordinate to the provincial level) that are solid and strong," which clearly defined the important position and the major responsibility that the subward level has in building and defending the cities of our country at this time. The directive states: "The subward is a place that has many potentials in its labor and manual skills, in materials and capital... The subward is the place where urban workers, socialist intellectuals and laboring people are concentrated; is the place where the sharp and complex struggle between socialism and capitalism takes place every day; is the place where undesirable elements and the enemy find the conditions they need to earn a living illegally, to wage psychological warfare and carry out their wide-ranging war of sabotage." Therefore, "subward party organizations must have a thorough understanding of lines and policies, be well versed in the two strategic tasks of the party, know the special characteristics of their subward and the pressing requirements that exist concerning the production and daily life of the masses, national defense and security, display the spirit of collective ownership and display a high degree of dynamism, initiative and self-reliance in order to successfully lead the effort to build the subward into a level that has its own plan and budget and complete each economic, living standards, cultural, social, national defense and security task well."

Of the various tasks assigned to the subward by the upper level, some are managed directly by the subward and others are managed by the upper level with the participation and coordination of the subward, especially those that involve compliance with the lines and policies of the party and the laws of the state within the territory in order to insure that the lines and policies of the party and the laws of the state are implemented fully, promptly and in the same way throughout the country. The conditions for socio-economic development differ from one subward to the next. Therefore, the subwards must



be assigned specific and reasonable management functions in order to enable them to display activism and initiative.

The dynamism of the subwards plus the assistance and guidance of the upper level will create new, favorable conditions for turning labor and capital into material wealth and developing the large potentials of the locality better. If specific and clearly defined functions and responsibilities are not assigned to the subward and everything is centralized on the precinct and ward level, it will be impossible to build the strength of the subward within the precinct, ward and municipality.

Assigning the subwards the responsibilities of building and managing a number of basic production, business and service units does not mean weakening the centralized, unified management within the cities. When assigning these responsibilities, it is necessary to do so on the basis of the specific situation and conditions of each subward and with the aim of achieving efficiency and maintaining centralism and unity. These responsibilities must not be assigned in a way that is haphazard.

The subward party organization is the basic organization of the party that has the function of leading every aspect of the subward's work. The leadership and guidance provided by the party chapters and basic party organization of the subward are the decisive factors in increasing the overall management responsibility of the subward administration and heightening the position of the subward level in the fields of politics, administration, economics, culture, living conditions, national defense and security. The leadership provided by the subward party organization is political, ideological and organizational leadership, the purposes of which are to insure that the lines and policies of the party permeate the masses and launch mass movements to carry out revolutionary tasks, through which the masses are trained and educated, the organization is built, cadres and party members are forged and new members are accepted into the party.

In leading the development of production and business, the management of the economy and the organizing of daily life, the subward party organization must display a very high degree of initiative and creativity, must possess both zeal and knowledge, especially knowledge of economic management, of science and technology, must possess the ability to lead and skill in the art of leadership so that it can employ and build upon the combined strength of the subward. Establishing the responsibilities that the subward level has with regard to managing the subward economy is a part of dismantling the management system based on bureaucratic centralism and subsidization and building the new management system, thus enabling basic units to display dynamism and creativity.

The subward party organization has a very large responsibility in leading administrative management, cultural and social management, the management of the population and the maintenance of security and national defense. The party organization and its various chapters must keep abreast of the situation surrounding the material and spiritual lives of the masses, keep abreast of their thoughts and aspirations and know each family, each citizen within their area well. This is a very large political responsibility. Through the

various neighborhood teams and mass organizations, the party organization must teach the masses, raise their political awareness, tap their intelligence and creativity, respect and listen to their opinions and correctly resolve the problems of the masses in exact accordance with the lines and views of the party. Only in this way is it possible to uphold the right of collective ownership of the masses, develop core cadres among the masses and insure that the masses actively protect the administration, carry out the policies on security and national defense well, manage, educate and reform persons who are slow to make progress and backward elements and expose reactionaries and criminals hiding among the masses.

The subward party organization must have a plan for building national defense and security forces. It must control and directly lead the self-defense and public security forces within the subward. Through the subward public security chief, it must lead public security forces in fully implementing the resolutions and directives of the party on the maintenance of security and order and establish the procedure of having these forces report directly to the party organization.

The leadership provided by the subward party organization must be very specific. The party committee and party chapter committees must periodically adopt specific programs and plans governing each aspect of their activities. In particular, they must establish clearly defined targets concerning the economy, living conditions, national defense and security, the building of the organization and the building of revolutionary forces within the subward. They must keep abreast of the realities of everyday life and the state of socio-economic matters, which are very diverse, very broad in scope and also very complex within the subward. They must concern themselves with the everyday life of each citizen. The less than effective practice of providing leadership that is only general in nature must be abandoned.

## II. Building the Organizational Structure, Implementing the System of Collective Ownership and Achieving a Combined Strength Within the Subward

The right of collective ownership of the laboring people within the subward is the prerequisite to and the moving force behind building a subward that is solid and strong.

Above everything else, the right of collective ownership of the laboring people must be backed by an administration that has a strong organizational system, one that has close ties to the people.

The subward people's council, which is the highest organ of power within the subward, must conduct effective activities. People's council representatives must be persons who possess good personal qualities, are competent, are concerned about serving the people of the subward well and, at the same time, respect the unified management of the municipality or city. The subward people's committee must fully implement the decisions of the subward people's council. The committee must seek the opinions of the party committee regarding matters of major importance. The party committee leads the people's council by means of party committee resolutions and through the activities conducted by party members on the people's council with the aim of turning

the resolutions of the party committee into decisions of the people's council. In cases in which the people's council has an opinion that differs from the opinion of the party committee, the party committee must re-examine its opinion in order to reach an appropriate decision.

The neighborhood team is the "grassroot" organization of the people's committee, is the place that directly upholds the right of ownership of the people and organizes them in implementing each position and policy of the party and state. The neighborhood teams must be strengthened and their activities must be improved so that every important matter is understood, discussed, carried out and inspected by the people. The neighborhood team should not be considered merely a place that disseminates directives and assigns jobs to the masses.

In order to create the conditions for the neighborhood teams to conduct activities that are of high quality, the people's committee must assign committee members to personally work with the heads of the neighborhood teams. At the same time, the cadres and party members working on the streets must participate in the activities of the neighborhood teams. The mass organizations must have organizations that coincide with the neighborhood teams (for example, they can establish youth teams, women's teams...).

The self-defense and security forces (public security forces, security forces, civil defense forces, people's security teams, security shock youth units...) of the subward must be pure, solid and strong, must be fully capable of performing their task well in every situation and taking the initiative in dealing with each scheme and act of sabotage of the enemy.

Secondly, the mass organizations and labor collectives play an important role in bringing together and mobilizing the masses to exercise their right of ownership and participate in revolutionary movements within the subward.

The mass organizations, such as the Vietnam Fatherland Front, the trade unions, the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union and the Vietnam Women's Union, also represent the right of ownership of the people and have the responsibility of educating, mobilizing and organizing the various strata of the people to participate in revolutionary work. At the same time, they must look after all aspects of the daily lives of the people.

On the basis of its nature, function and task, each mass organization must deeply involve itself in agitating among and organizing those persons who lie within the scope of its activity; at the same time, it must establish ties and coordinate its activities with the other mass organizations to uphold the right of collective ownership of the people in the subward. In the present stage, the mass organizations must make every effort to build and strengthen their organization and improve their mode of operation along lines that are dynamic, creative and effective, thus combating the tendency toward activities that are administrative and bureaucratic in nature and insuring that the tasks assigned by the subward party organization are completed.

Besides the above mentioned political organizations, every possible form of organization must be employed to bring the masses into appropriate social

organizations and insure that every citizen in the subward is a member of an organization so that everyone can contribute to public work. Such widespread mass organizations as the associations and clubs must have dependable core cadres to insure that their activities are wholesome and useful and to thwart attempts by the enemy and undesirable elements to use and sabotage these activities. The people's security and youth inspection organization, the arbitration teams, the savings campaign teams and so forth are forms of organization through which the masses directly participate in the management of the state. The mass organizations must assign persons to join these organizations in order to contribute opinions concerning the themes and mode of their activities under the professional guidance of the concerned administration agency.

In each subward are economic and cultural organizations of the subward, such as cooperatives, production teams, service teams, agencies, schools and so forth. These are labor collectives that play an important role in managing the economy and managing society. The subward must constantly concern itself with building these labor collectives so that they become progressive labor collectives, become socialist labor collectives and in order to combat the tendency to turn labor collectives into organizations that operate as guilds, that only concern themselves with their own interests and even violate the interests of the state or other labor collectives.

The activities of the above organizations have the purposes of upholding the right of collective ownership of the people and achieving the combined strength of the proletarian dictatorship system. These activities are under the leadership of the subward party organization. The subward party organization provides direct leadership of every aspect of the subward's work. Together with heightening their sense of responsibility, every effort must be made to increase the fighting strength of the subward party organizations, to build subward party chapters and party organizations that are pure, solid and strong. Specifically, subward party chapters and party organizations must be built to meet the following five requirements:

--They must lead the formulation and performance of the subwards political task well.

--They must uphold the right of collective ownership of the laboring people and successfully lead the efforts to build the administration, neighborhood teams, mass organizations, labor collectives and self-defense and security forces of the subward.

--They must build the party well internally and build a good corps of party members.

--The party committee and party chapter committees must be united and have the trust of the masses.

--They must formulate and implement subward cadre planning well.

These five requirements express the political task and the organizational task of the subward party organization. They reflect the close relationships that

exist between building the party politically and building the party organizationally; between building the party organization and building the agencies of the administration, the mass organizations and the labor collectives; between building the party organization and molding each cadre and party member in exact accordance with the guidelines on party building. When examining and evaluating a party chapter, the subward party organization must do so on the basis of the five requirements mentioned above.

Here, special importance must be attached to building the street party chapters (that is, the party chapters organized by residential neighborhood or on the basis of a number of neighborhood teams) and the party cells within the neighborhood teams with the aims of strengthening the ties between the party and the people, increasing the fighting strength of the party organization within the subward and insuring the successful implementation of each position and policy of the party and state within the subward.

### III. Building a Corps of Cadres and Party Members That Is Pure, Solid and Strong, Possesses High Fighting Strength and Is Close to the Masses

A pure, solid and strong party organization, a solid and strong subward absolutely must have a corps of party members that is pure, solid and strong and a contingent of core cadres who are loyal, dedicated and dynamic, know how to approach their work, are close to the masses and truly respect the right of ownership of the masses. Therefore, of most decisive importance in building the subward and the subward party organization is the need to build the corps of cadres and party members within the subward.

In recent years, through the positive efforts of the subward party organizations, initial results have, generally speaking, been recorded in this work. Many party members have actively participated in work within the subward and gradually enhanced their personal qualities and improved their job skills. Many retired cadres have also been performing dedicated work within the subward. In a number of municipalities, especially in the South, besides elderly comrades, there is a corps of young party members who have been accepted into the party from within mass movements. These persons, the majority of whom come from the background of manual and mental laborers, have accepted the lines and policies of the party, consequently, they have matured quickly, are highly militant, are dynamic and creative. Many of these persons have become core cadres in progressive subwards.

However, the activities of the subward party organizations in this field are not uniform. At some places, the results being achieved are still low. Some party members are not fulfilling their exemplary, vanguard role, are not truly setting examples for the masses to follow, are not close to the masses.

In the effort to improve the quality of party members, good results can only be achieved by educating and training party members, by assigning responsibilities to and managing party members, by improving the activities of the party chapters and party cells... One important requirement of the party members working in the subwards is that they give their attention to strengthening their ties with the masses in the subward. Those party members who are subward cadres must strengthen their ties with the neighborhood

teams. The party chapters and party cells within the neighborhood teams must assign members the jobs of performing work among the masses and social work, such as participating in the activities of the youth inspection teams and the arbitration teams, being in charge of a few families outside the party, assisting Youth Union chapters, working as activists at a club, etc. These are the best ways to teach and train party members. As regards party members who are elderly and frail and no longer able to participate in party chapter activities or perform social work, the party chapter may exempt them from work or allow them to cease participating in activities. However, the party chapter must regularly help these comrades gain an understanding of the positions and policies of the party and state and the important decisions made by the subward party organization. It must require and create the conditions for them to maintain their personal qualities and maintain good relations with the masses and require that they encourage their children and families to perform their tasks well.

Party chapters and party cells must periodically engage in self-criticism within the chapter and cell in coordination with arranging for the masses to criticize cadres and party members. The party members who work at the agencies and enterprises located within the subward must also actively and effectively participate in activities with the street party chapters, thereby helping to build solid and strong subward party chapters.

In party member work, importance must be attached to educating and closely managing party members; combating negative phenomena; resolutely expelling from the party persons who are not qualified to be party members; promptly stopping and taking stern disciplinary action against cadres and party members who embezzle, take bribes or abuse their authority, who are arrogant toward the masses, make things inconvenient for the people or lead an immoral life, thus reducing the prestige of the party and harming the relationship between the party and the masses.

The masses often view and assess the party through the actions and personal qualities of cadres and party members. For this reason, very much importance must be attached to teaching ethical qualities to cadres and party members, to managing and protecting cadres and party members, to strengthening the ties between the party and the masses. At present, the struggle between the "two paths" is a sharp struggle on each street, within the subward and within each cadre and party member. The enemy and undesirable elements are looking for flaws in the ethical qualities, the style and the attitude of cadres and party members so that they can provoke and discredit the party in a vain attempt to divide the party from the masses and undermine the unity between it and the people. We cannot relax our vigilance in the face of the schemes of the enemy, cannot give light attention to forging the qualities of cadres and party members. On the other hand, we must also attach very much importance to teaching and training the masses and bringing into the party outstanding persons who emerge within the revolutionary movements of the masses, especially within the public security forces, the corps of teachers and the force of core cadres within the subward. Narrowminded attitudes concerning who should be accepted into the party must be corrected. At the same time, we must prevent undesirable elements and opportunists from infiltrating the party.

Within the subward, there are usually three different kinds of cadres present: the cadres who hold public positions within the subward, retired cadres and the cadres who work at agencies and units managed by the upper level but who reside within the subward. Tapping the potentials of these three cadre forces is an important factor in achieving the combined strength of the subward.

The experience of Ho Chi Minh City and many other municipalities and cities shows that the basic, long-range guideline for building the corps of subward cadres is to train persons who emerge from revolutionary movements within the subward. These cadres are persons who are close to everyday life, close to the masses in the subward and are deeply interested in building the subward, in building socialist cities. Cadres, especially key cadres who have been permanently assigned in the subward by the upper level, should also be persons who have gained their experience in the subwards. The conditions must be created for these persons to reside within the subward. Key leadership cadres in the subward should not be allowed to live in another subward or precinct.

Besides those cadres who currently hold public positions within the subward, the party committees, people's committees and mass organizations of the subwards must look for ways to make the fullest possible use of the potentials that lie in the intelligence, the experience in providing leadership and guidance, the technical qualifications and the manual skills of the cadres who work at the agencies and units managed by the upper level but reside within the subward and of retired cadres.

To create the conditions for the corps of cadres in the subward to operate well, the party and state will promulgate a number of policies on the training, promotion and utilization of cadres working in the subwards and on benefits for these cadres.

All sectors and levels must concern themselves with leading and assisting the subwards in formulating and implementing plans for the training of key cadres within the subward, with efforts focused first on strengthening the corps of party committee secretaries, people's committee chairmen, public security chiefs, vice chairmen in charge of economics, committee secretaries and the comrades in charge of work among the masses.

#### IV. Building the Subward in a Manner Closely Linked To Strengthening the Ward and Precinct Level, Building Ward and Precinct Party Organizations That Are Solid and Strong and Strengthening the Guidance Provided by the Upper Level

Good results can only be achieved in building the subward and increasing the fighting strength of the subward party organization provided that these efforts are combined with strengthening the ward and precinct level, with making every effort to build a ward or precinct party organization that is solid and strong and with strengthening the guidance provided by the upper level. Because, as in the other administrative subdivisions, the organizational system of the party in the municipalities is a unified structure consisting of organizations that share an organic, dialectical relationship and have an impact upon one another. Only when the subward base

is solid can the precinct or ward, the city and the municipality be strong. Conversely, only when the precinct or ward, the city or the municipality are strengthened can the conditions exist for the subward to constantly grow.

The precinct and ward level occupies a very important position in the development of the provinces and municipalities (directly subordinate to the central level) into units that are very important from the standpoint of the economy and national defense. At the same time, it has the responsibility of comprehensively managing the subwards in the fields of politics, the economy, cultural and social work, national defense and security. The precinct or ward manages all aspects of work within the precinct or ward and, together with the municipality, provides management by locality of the basic economic units of the central level, the province and the municipality that are located within the precinct or ward.

The precinct and ward party committees have the responsibility of leading the administration, mass organizations, labor collectives and basic organizations of the party in the tasks of developing the economy, carrying out cultural development, strengthening the national defense system, maintaining order and security, looking after the living conditions of the people and molding the new man. In the building of the party, the precinct or ward party committee not only leads the effort to build the basic organizations of the party within subordinate units, but also has a responsibility toward the party organizations of the units subordinate to the province or the central level that are located within the precinct or ward.

This is a very large and important responsibility. It demands that the precinct and ward level be strengthened, that the makeup of the precinct and ward party committee be changed and improved. The makeup of the party committee must be based on the general functions and tasks of the precinct and ward and the specific political task of each precinct and ward during each period. The general guideline is to increase the number of direct production workers and leadership cadres at basic state-operated economic units and the number of women on the precinct and ward party committees. It is necessary to correct the problem of some precinct, ward and city party committees not giving appropriate attention to strengthening and building party chapters and basic party organizations, not correctly fulfilling their responsibilities and performing work that is part of the responsibility of administration agencies while giving light attention to party work, inspections and work among the masses.

Providing the basic organizations of the party with stronger leadership and assistance is a constant and important task of the precinct and ward party committee. The precinct and ward party committees must change the way that responsibilities are assigned within their standing committees and improve their work methods under the guideline of intensifying their inspection effort and the building of the party and developing these two areas of their work in depth in a way consistent with the political task of each type basic unit, with more attention being given to the basic production and business units within the state-operated sector of the economy. Procedures must be adopted for disseminating the positions and policies of the upper level to the party committee secretaries at basic units. These secretaries (including the party



committee secretaries at the state-operated economic units located within the precinct or ward) must be required to regularly report on their work to the precinct or ward party committee.

Assigning the precinct and ward party committees the responsibility of managing the basic organizations of the party at state-operated economic units does not mean that the provincial and municipal party committees no longer guide these basic organizations. When necessary, the provincial and municipal party committees can still convene a conference of party committee secretaries at basic units to provide them with guidance concerning related work. The provincial and municipal party committees have the responsibility of leading the effort to build solid and strong precinct and ward party organizations that meet the five requirements set by the Party Secretariat and doing so in a manner that is closely tied to building basic organizations of the party within the subwards that are solid, strong and pure.

To complete its tasks, the ward or precinct party committee must possess true unity and consensus based on the lines, policies and organizational principles of the party and must perform its work in exact accordance with the regulations issued by the Party Secretariat, thereby insuring that the mechanism "the party leads, the laboring people exercise collective ownership, the state manages" is implemented well.

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## UNDERSTANDING THE BASIC VIEWS OF THE PARTY CONCERNING YOUTH WORK

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[Article by Vu Mao, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union]

[Text] On 4 July 1985, the Political Bureau of our Party Central Committee issued Resolution Number 26 on strengthening the party's leadership of youth work. The resolution sets forth the guidelines, tasks and measures regarding youth work in the new period of the revolution on the basis of reviewing and thoroughly analyzing the achievements as well as shortcomings in the training of the young generation in the recent past and under the light of the views and thinking of our party concerning youth work in the socialist revolution.

Every resolution of the party concerning youth work is closely associated with a specific period in the history of the nation and party, reflects the strategic tasks of the party during that period and has the aim of advancing the country to new victories. Therefore, in the course of studying and implementing the party's resolution, it is first of all necessary to gain an understanding of the basic views and thinking set forth in the resolution.

Over the past 10 years, keeping pace with the intense development of our country's revolution, the youths of Vietnam have made outstanding contributions and quickly matured but also displayed certain weaknesses and shortcomings. The youth work of the party has been successful in some areas but not achieved the desired results in others, and has even been neglected at some places. On the basis of reviewing this situation, our party has set forth its line on the mobilization of youths in the new period of the revolution. Below are the basic views and thinking expressed in the resolution:

To begin with, the Political Bureau resolution establishes the mobilization of youths as a "very important political task of the party," as a matter of "strategic importance" in our country's revolution. This represents the continued development of the basic thinking concerning youth work set forth in the resolutions of the 4th and 5th National Congresses of the Party. In the socialist revolution in our country today, youths are a very large social force. Under the leadership of the party, youths are having a direct impact upon revolutionary processes and stimulating an advance to higher levels of

development, especially in the fields of creating new production capacity, applying scientific and technical achievements and advances, struggling against bureaucracy, subsidization, conservatism and inertia, building the new life, etc. However, the extent and level of the impact that the various revolutionary movements of youths have in our common undertaking depend upon the work that all society does to organize, educate and mobilize the young generations, decisive factors in which are the leadership provided by the party and the management and care provided by the state and all mass organizations. Herein lies the strategic significance and special importance of youth work. Without grasping the essence of this relationship, it is impossible to understand the approach to youth work in the Political Bureau resolution.

On the other hand, it must be recognized that the age in which we are living is the age of a bitter struggle between socialism and capitalism on a worldwide scale and that our country's revolution is taking place under circumstances in which we are at peace but must contend with the wide-ranging war of sabotage being waged by the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists in collaboration with the U.S. imperialists and other reactionary powers. The resolution of the Political Bureau points out that we cannot "relax our vigilance against the enemy," that "the enemy is making every effort to win over and poison youths" "with the aim of achieving their basic and long-range scheme." From this perspective, the strategic importance of youth work is seen in the broad scope and decisive nature of the struggle against the sinister schemes and cunning tricks being carried out by the enemy against our young generation.

The special importance of the mobilization of youths is also pointed out in the Political Bureau resolution: "...Performing good youth work guarantees the continuity and continuous development of our system, guarantees the present as well as the bright future of the nation of Vietnam... guarantees the wholesome development of the young." This is one of the basic views, one of the basic lines of thinking reflected from many different angles within the resolution.

Secondly, the Political Bureau resolution defines the essence of the mobilization of youths as training young persons who possess sound awareness of their class and nation, are ready to undertake the shock role in the revolution and will carry on the cause of the party and people in a loyal and outstanding manner. The teaching of communism to the young generation is carried out on the basis of the stand of the working class and the goals of the revolution. Long ago, the classical authors of Marxism-Leninism touched upon the law of carrying on the revolution and gave this responsibility to the working class. Marx said: "The future of the working class and, through it, the future of all mankind, depends entirely upon the education and training of the generation of workers now growing up."<sup>(1)</sup> Lenin summed the matter up in one word: "Learn." And, he demanded that the party "prepare communism for youths." In his Testament, Uncle Ho advised: "Training the revolutionary generations of tomorrow is very important and very necessary work." Thus, he pointed out the importance of this matter and confirmed the necessity of training the young generation.

Youths, in fact, are persons who are in the process of becoming what they ultimately will be. In addition, they are persons who possess special psychological and physiological traits, persons who have legitimate demands that they be able to develop and contribute, foremost among which are their demands for knowledge, for practical skills, for experience in class struggle so that they can achieve their ideals.

In the various periods of the revolution, our party, on the basis of a correct assessment of the great revolutionary character and capabilities of youths, has always set guidelines and specific requirements for preparing youths to be soldiers who tenaciously defend the fatherland and laborers who exercise collective ownership. Maintaining the same view, the Political Bureau resolution criticizes every attitude of "ignoring and neglecting" youth work or "only stressing the need to mobilize and utilize youths while giving light attention to the training of youths." Taking a hard look at its own shortcomings, the party criticizes itself: "The party has not provided the proper guidance needed to establish a division of responsibilities and coordination among the organizations of the proletarian dictatorship system in caring for and training the young generation." On the other hand, the resolution also states: "Degenerate and deviant cadres as well as irresponsibility on the part of many families have adversely affected the effort to teach youths, teenagers and children."

As regards youths themselves, besides praising the millions of cadres, Youth Union members and youths who are eager to learn, to improve themselves, who have displayed a high degree of revolutionary heroism and developed their talents, thus "helping to brighten the face of our fatherland," the party harshly criticizes those youths who are unconscious of the need to improve themselves, are too lazy to work and study, refuse to struggle and grow, lead a pragmatic, selfish, undisciplined and immoral life and violate state law.

The Political Bureau resolution also points out the close relationship that exists between teaching politics, ideology and ethics and providing an education in culture, science, technology, labor and an occupation. Concerning the teaching of politics and ideology, the resolution emphasizes: "We must teach to youths the ideals of communism, the Marxist-Leninist world view and socialist patriotism combined with proletarian internationalism, with the fine traditions of the party and nation and give youths a deep understanding of the lines and tasks of the revolution so that they correctly and clearly establish the ideals for which to struggle, the spirit of socialist collective ownership, the sense of responsibility of the young... and become persons who live, fight, work and study in the example set by the great Uncle Ho..." This is not only the responsibility of the Youth Union and the educational agencies of the party, rather, "the education sector, the cultural sector, the physical education-sports sector, the public health sector... must also concern themselves with teaching politics and ideology to the young generation." The resolution's approach to this issue means that all agencies and sectors of the state have the responsibility of cultivating the ethics, qualities and character of the new socialist man and woman among youths.

The training and education of the young generation demand the active and well coordinated participation of the entire proletarian dictatorship system and all society. Achieving consensus among each force engaged in educational work and each family concerning the views, guidelines, subjects and measures that pertain to the education of youths and teenagers is extremely necessary if we are to avoid a situation in which "everyone is pulling in a different direction." We have all seen how, for example, showing just one film that has a decadent theme is enough to negate countless efforts made by educators, just like someone tearing down something that someone else has built. For this reason, the resolution of the Political Bureau calls for each and every educational capability of society to be focused on the young generation for the sake of the growth and development of this generation: "Veterans of the revolution, heroes, educators, scientists, writers, artists... must actively participate in the education of youths, teenagers and children, bringing to this effort their intelligence and experience, their sense of responsibility, their feelings and prestige."

Another extremely important requirement in the education of the young generation is that of organizing tens of millions of young men and women to take part in, to take the lead on each front in the current revolutionary struggle so that they grow and mature, define the direction their lives will take, assert their role in production, participate in economic and social management, become involved in science and technology... The Political Bureau resolution points out that it necessary to "train the young generation through labor, combat, studies and social activities..."

Thirdly, there is the matter of "heightening the responsibility of the proletarian dictatorship system toward youth work." As we know, our party has carried out the mobilization of youths in many different periods of the revolution. During the period of clandestine activities, the party organized, educated and mobilized youths through the Youth Union organization trained and led by the party. In addition to the Communist Youth Union, the organizations of trade unions and women and other social organizations that were conducting activities under the banner of the party also contributed to the mobilization of youths.

When our party became the party in power, our party's approach to work among the masses, in general, and youth work, in particular, changed. In addition to the Youth Union, the school systems, the army and so forth were given the responsibility of performing youth work. However, as time passed, we learned how to mobilize youths by means of many new systems. Today, within the mechanism "the party leads, the state manages, the people exercise ownership," the youth work of the party must be conducted through the proletarian dictatorship system as manifested in the following areas of primary importance:

a) As the manager of all our society's activities, "the state must promulgate specific policies on the vital issues that pertain to youths, policies that uphold their right of collective ownership in the field of social activity, uphold their right to participate in the management of the economy and the

management of society." This process of codification must be carried out in a gradual but urgent manner, beginning by amending or drafting and promulgating a number of necessary regulations and policies and the Youth Law.

b) Under the leadership of the party, the agencies of the state and mass organizations actively participate in a division of labor and coordinate their activities in order to bring a combined strength to our work among youths and teenagers. This division of labor and coordination of activities are organized by a plan or common program aimed at solving both immediate, pressing problems and long-range problems, such as how to use the means and material bases at our disposal for the purpose of education; how to provide jobs to youths; how to organize and launch emulation movements of youths, etc.

c) The Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union actively participates in this division of labor and coordination by proposing innovations, resolutions, policies, programs of action and so forth for incorporation in the plan by which this division of labor and coordination are organized; at the same time, it helps the party keep watch on this process as the representative of the right of collective ownership of the young.

Maintaining the relationships mentioned above is an exceedingly important requirement in the mobilization of youths at this time. The following few examples suffice to show us why this is so. Today, we have more than 600,000 teachers on the various levels of education, teachers who are in daily contact with roughly 16 million students, the majority of whom are members of the Children's Unit, the Teenagers' Unit or the Youth Union. If this large contingent of teachers has a full understanding of the Political Bureau's resolutions on educational reform and on strengthening the party's leadership of youth work so that each teacher becomes a youth cadre, these resolutions will surely be implemented with many good results. Our people's armed forces manage and train a considerable number of Youth Union members and youths. The army is a large and important school for youths. The majority of the army's cadres, from the platoon to the battalion echelons and even on the regimental echelon, are youths. If this corps of young officers is thoroughly instructed in the party's line, policies and methods regarding youth work, youth work within the army will surely acquire a new quality.

The Political Bureau resolution states: "The state considers youth work to be an important part of its socio-economic strategy. Both long-term and short-term plans must include specific provisions and measures concerning this work and provide for appropriate investments in it." This is the first time that youth work has been established as an important part of socio-economic strategy and viewed as an important issue in state planning.

Fourthly, there is the matter of the party's responsibility toward building the Youth Union. Some 54 years ago, the Indochina Communist Youth Union, the present day Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union, was founded and subsequently led by Uncle Ho and our party. The Youth Union has a long history of struggle and has gradually grown and matured under the party's leadership. The process of the Youth Union's growth has also been the process of struggling to

overcome incorrect views concerning the Youth Union's organization, views that have sometimes advocated a narrow-based organization and sometimes advocated expanding the Youth Union's organization without adhering to principles.

In the face of these difficulties, the party promptly corrected these erroneous views and set the correct course for the development of the Youth Union. In the socialist revolution, in order to meet the requirements of new tasks and because party building is presenting many problems that must be resolved, the opinion has again emerged that building the Youth Union is the work of the Youth Union and this is, in practice, what has occurred. It is true that the Youth Union must actively participate in activities in order to constantly grow in every respect. However, to maintain that building the Youth Union is the work of the Youth Union and that the party's only job is to set guidelines and requirements is to not understand the fundamental relationships that exist between the party and the Youth Union, is to consider the Youth Union to be the same as every other social organization... Lenin also struggled against this incorrect thinking and was the first to establish the relationship in principle between the party and the Youth Union. He advanced the concepts that the Youth Union is the organization of young communists, that the Youth Union is the reserve unit of the party.

Immediately after it was founded, at the plenum held in October 1930, our party, loyal to Leninist principles and profoundly aware of its responsibility in the building of the Youth Union, pointed out: "In the months ahead, we must make every effort to eliminate the mistaken opinion held by some comrades that the work of the Communist Youth Union is not very important and make every party member understand that the work of the Youth Union is as necessary and important as the work of the party."(2)

For more than one-half century, our party has been waging a continuous struggle to establish this view as part of our thinking as well as part of our practical activities. However, at many times and places, this view has not been thoroughly understood. More than a small number of party committees have neglected the work of building the Youth Union or left this work up to the Youth Union organization.

The resolution of the Political Bureau states: "All party committee echelons must directly concern themselves with building a Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union that is solid and strong politically, ideologically and organizationally" and "all party committee echelons must incorporate youth work in their regular work agenda."

The resolution also points out: "The Youth Union is the militant reserve unit of the party." This concept clearly reflects the fundamental relationship between the party and the Youth Union, reflects the communist political nature of the Youth Union organization. This fundamental relationship results in the party having a direct responsibility in building its militant reserve unit. This responsibility is both a matter of principle and an objective necessity.

It is also necessary here to discuss the relationship between the Youth Union organization and the mass of youths. The Political Bureau resolution defines the Youth Union as "the school of communism of youths, the representative of

the interests and the right of collective ownership of the young." Viewed from this perspective, we can more clearly see the responsibility that the party has in building the Youth Union so that it is able to successfully fulfill the functions mentioned above.

In the work of building the Youth Union, one key issue that has arisen today is the need to build the corps of Youth Union cadres. The Political Bureau resolution observes that our current corps of Youth Union cadres is "inadequate and weak" and "has not been selected or trained well." This is clearly a matter that must be given special attention. The resolution also points out: "Building a Youth Union that is solid and strong demands a corps of Youth Union cadres who are enthusiastic and zealous, are able to grasp and apply the line and policies of the party in Youth Union work and have the trust and respect of the mass of youths." Thus, the party has set the requirements and concretized the basic standards of the corps of Youth Union cadres in order to guide the selection and training of these cadres.

The cadre issue is one that entails a great amount of work. The Youth Union itself must make extraordinary efforts to build its corps of cadres on its own. On the other hand, the Political Bureau resolution also points out: "The organization sections (of the party) on the various levels must plan the selection, training and rotation of Youth Union cadres in order to do a good job of building the apparatus of the Youth Union while strengthening the young cadre forces of the party and various sectors."

The Youth Union's responsibility is to actively search for and discover new factors, make policy proposals to the party and closely coordinate with the organization sections of the party in planning the training and utilization of cadres in the immediate future and over the long range.

Fifthly, there is the matter of "raising the scientific level and effectiveness of the methods employed in the mobilization of youths." This matter is raised in the Political Bureau resolution as a pressing requirement, one that reflects the approach of evaluating, examining and resolving the problems pertaining to youths from a scientific perspective and opposing every approach that is cursory, simplistic, conservative and slow.

Among the masses, youths are a special segment to the party, they possess many psychological and physiological traits that are unlike those of the other segments of the masses. Youths also have legitimate aspirations and needs to grow and develop. However, no one field of science alone can draw a complete social picture of our youths today. Rather, such a picture can only be drawn through research projects conducted in many different fields, from philosophy, sociology and psychology to literature, education and even mathematics, medical science, etc. This is a type of research work that is highly integrated in nature.

Youths are a large and dynamic social force that plays an especially important role in the economy, national defense, security, the culture... In view of the fact that their standards have been raised in every respect, in view of



the constant growth in information and exchanges in the fields of culture, science, technology and so forth, research on youths cannot be carried out in a superficial way nor stop at general, existing conclusions.

The Political Bureau resolution requires that we "constantly draw from experience," "utilize all available forms," "make well coordinated use of all means," etc. That is, there are numerous issues that must be researched and reviewed under the light of the Marxist-Leninist social sciences.

An important portion of the Political Bureau resolution is devoted to restructuring the methods by which youth work is performed. This restructuring, of course, must be carried out on the basis of thoroughly researching the concerned segment of youths and reviewing practical activities. The methods of building movements, of building and increasing the number of model units, the methods of linking and coordinating efforts to elevate the thinking of youths and material incentives, the methods of utilizing and training youths, the question of evaluating youths and so forth as set forth in the resolution are critical issues that must be deeply researched by youth science and applied in youth work.

In order for youth work to be carried out scientifically, it is necessary to have a corps of Youth Union cadres who possess both zeal and deep knowledge of their special field. Therefore, it is necessary to "build the system of Youth Union schools on the various levels, improve the quality of training provided by the High Level Youth Union School on the central level... and establish an Institute for Youth Studies directly subordinate to the Organization Department of the Central Committee to organize research into youth work and coordinate with science and education agencies in this research" as pointed out in the Political Bureau resolution.

The basic views and thinking of our party concerning youth work in the new period as well as the entire contents of the important resolution of the Political Bureau on youth work must be thoroughly understood by all sectors and levels, most importantly by the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union, in order to strongly advance youth work and meet the requirements of the revolution in the new stage.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. K. Marx and F. Engels: "Collected Works," Russian version, Political Publishing House, Moscow, 1980, Volume 16, p 198.
2. "Van kien Dang ve cong tac thanh nien" [Party Documents on Youth Work], Thanh Nien Publishing House, Hanoi, 1973, Volume 1, p 16.

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## THE SUCCESS OF THE PARTY'S NATIONALITIES POLICY OVER THE PAST 40 YEARS

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[Article by Hoang Truong Minh]

[Text] Due to the impact of natural conditions and the environment upon each region, especially as a result of the consequences of oppressive, exploitative regimes in the past, every nationality differs. Therefore, there are differences between the ethnic majority and the ethnic minorities as well as among the ethnic minorities from the standpoint of economic and cultural development and the standpoint of customs and habits. The imperialists and feudalists constantly used these differences among the nationalities to serve their schemes of aggression and domination.

Ever since it was founded, our party has considered correctly resolving the nationalities issue to be one of the tasks of strategic importance of the Vietnamese revolution. "The nationalities policy of the party is to achieve complete equality in every respect among the nationalities and create the conditions needed to eradicate at its source the difference in the levels of economic and cultural development between the ethnic minorities and the ethnic majority, bring the mountains to the level of development of the deltas, the highlands to the level of development of the lowlands so that all ethnic groups enjoy a life of comfort and happiness, develop in every respect, unite and help one another make progress together and together be the collective masters of the socialist Vietnamese fatherland."<sup>(1)</sup> This policy represents the creative application of the principles of Marxism-Leninism on the nationalities question to the realities of the Vietnamese revolution. In the various stages of the revolution, our party has amended and developed this policy to be consistent with the tasks of the revolution during each period.

In the 40 years that we have spent implementing the nationalities policy of the party, we have recorded major achievements, achievements that have completely changed the ethnic minorities politically, economically, culturally and socially and made worthy contributions to the common victories of the revolution throughout the country.

Once citizens who had lost their country, the ethnic majority and all ethnic minorities have become members of an independent and free country that is advancing to socialism and occupies a worthy position in the world. The

laboring people of the ethnic minorities together with the ethnic majority in our country are all equal citizens within the great national family of Vietnam and are all the collective masters of the socialist Vietnamese fatherland. Having experienced the very severe challenges of the revolution and several decades of continuous war, the will of all nationalities to reunify the nation and their tradition of uniting to fight foreign aggression and defend the fatherland have been strengthened and solidified and cannot be shaken by any hostile force. The people of all nationalities defeated the two imperialist powers of France and the United States. More recently, we have been and are thwarting the schemes and tactics of the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists in their war of encroachment and occupation and their wide-ranging war of sabotage, the aim of which is to weaken and eventually annex our country. The solidarity among our country's nationalities has become increasingly solid and strong. The political equality of the ethnic minorities and the equality under the law have been clearly established and constantly broadened and enhanced. Through economic and cultural development, through the three revolutions (the production relations revolution, the scientific-technological revolution and the ideological and cultural revolution), a step has been taken in developing the tremendous natural potentials of the ethnic areas and the fine cultural assets of the various ethnic groups and the material, cultural and spiritual lives of the ethnic minorities have been markedly improved. Their largely natural, subsistent economy is gradually becoming a diversified, planned, technical economy in which there is close coordination between agriculture and forestry, between agriculture-forestry and industry, between production and circulation-distribution, an economy that is producing a larger output of commodities with each passing day. Nomadism with all its sorrows and indignities is being eliminated. Inroads have and are continuing to be made against illiteracy along with corrupt customs, superstitious beliefs and disease. Education, public health services, cultural activities and art are steadily bringing the light of civilization and a happy, wholesome atmosphere to all ethnic minorities in every area of the fatherland. Although there are still difficulties and still disparities among the various areas and ethnic groups, the economic and cultural equality among ethnic groups is becoming increasingly evident in real life. The corps of ethnic minority cadres and party members have grown rapidly and matured with each passing day. Every ethnic group in our country has its own corps of cadres and party members who possess unquestioned loyalty to the party, the state and the people. These persons constitute the force of activists and have been a very important factor in upholding the right of collective ownership of the various ethnic groups within the united Vietnamese family. Looking back over the past 40 years, the common setting we see is the ethnic groups of our country, both the ethnic majority and the ethnic minorities, in the mountains and the lowlands, living together in unity, equality, closeness and harmony with one another within the great Vietnamese national family.

The tremendous achievements mentioned above have originated in the ardent patriotism, the self-reliance and the unquestioned confidence of the peoples of the various ethnic groups in the leadership of the party, of the esteemed Uncle Ho. These achievements have also stemmed from the spirit of diligent labor of the ethnic groups, their love for one another, their wholehearted assistance for one another, their learning from one another. Through the

correct and creative leadership of the party and the thoughtful teachings of President Ho Chi Minh, this spiritual strength has been multiplied many times.

From the 40 years that we have spent implementing the nationalities policy of the party, we can draw several factors of very important significance, factors that we need to continue to build upon in the years ahead.

1. Uniting to fight foreign aggression and defend the fatherland and uniting in labor to build the country are the most important factor in the survival and development of the entire Vietnamese national community and each ethnic group.

The several thousand year history of the nation of Vietnam has been the history of the ethnic majority and the ethnic minorities in the lowlands and the mountains uniting in battle to defend the country and in labor to build the country, sharing joys and sorrows, sharing good times and bad. When the fatherland has been invaded and the independence and freedom of the country have been lost, all ethnic groups everywhere, the ethnic majority as well as the ethnic minorities, have been citizens without a country, been the servants of foreign rulers. And, as long as the disparity between the lowlands and the mountains in the development of the country's economy remained, as long as each potential and strength of the country and each of its regions remained undeveloped, all ethnic groups continued to encounter very many difficulties in their everyday lives and true equality did not exist. Therefore, to achieve independence, freedom, comfort and happiness, the ethnic groups of our country had but one course open to them: to join together without prejudice toward the ethnic majority or the ethnic minorities, toward the lowlands or the mountains, to unite as one under the party's leadership and make every effort to implement each line, position and policy of the party and state and carry out the tasks set by the party. In the early 1940's, as a result of this unity, a spirited revolutionary movement arose in many ethnic minority areas, a movement that led to the success of the 1945 August Revolution that toppled Japanese-French rule and the traitorous king and mandarins and brought independence and freedom to the fatherland, to all the people. Guided by the party and President Ho, this unity of the ethnic groups of our country in the fight for independence and freedom became one of the decisive factors in the victories of the 9 year war of resistance against the French colonialists and the more than 20 year war of resistance against the United States for national salvation, which ushered in a new era: the era of the independence and reunification of the entire country, of the entire country advancing to socialism. This unity in battle also defeated two wars of aggression, one on the southwestern border and one on the northern border of our country, and is now defeating the war of encroachment and occupation and the wide-ranging war of sabotage being waged by the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists in collaboration with the U.S. imperialists and other reactionary powers.

Today, in the work of building and defending the socialist Vietnamese fatherland, the tradition of the ethnic groups of uniting in the fight against foreign aggression is continually being developed upon by our party, headed by the esteemed General Secretary Le Duan. In keeping with our people's spirit of self-reliance, their strong revolutionary-offensive will and their high determination to overcome difficulties and hardships, our party has adopted

the policy of closely combining labor with arable land and the sectors and trades, a policy under which agriculture is considered to be the front of foremost importance, in order to gradually develop production and carry out socialist industrialization. Combining labor with arable land and the sectors and trades essentially involves combining the densely populated lowlands with their many sectors and trades with the sparsely populated mountains rich in natural resources. Under this policy, many ethnic minority areas are becoming areas to which portions of the population and labor force of places throughout the country are being redistributed. Many new economic zones, many new industrial centers and hundreds of large and small state farms, state forestry sites, land clearing cooperatives and industrial enterprises in which increasingly large numbers of minority members are participating in ways and stages of development well suited to them have been established in ethnic minority areas. These production organizations are generating wealth for the economy of the entire country. At the same time, they are stimulating the development of the mountain economy and helping to gradually improve the material, cultural and spiritual lives of the ethnic minorities. This is a guideline of very basic importance in bringing the mountains to the level of development of the lowlands, in strengthening the unity of ethnic groups in the new circumstances that exist today and quickly advancing the ethnic minorities to socialism.

2. Achieving economic and cultural equality is an extremely necessary prerequisite to the ethnic minorities and the ethnic majority joining together to build and defend the socialist Vietnamese fatherland.

The political report of the Party Central Committee at the party's 4th National Congress of Delegates established as a fundamental task of the nationalities policy in the stage of the socialist revolution the need to "achieve complete equality in every field among the ethnic groups."<sup>(2)</sup> The political equality and equality under the law of all ethnic groups were established with the birth of our state and have since been steadily broadened and enhanced. The proletarian dictatorship system has been built from the basic to the central levels and constantly strengthened with the participation of large numbers of outstanding representatives of all ethnic groups, participation based on the principles of equality, mutual assistance and the exercise of collective ownership together. However, the level of economic and cultural development of the ethnic minorities is, generally speaking, still low and varies from one place to another. This has limited the economic and cultural equality of the ethnic minorities and unavoidably affected efforts to uphold their right of collective ownership. The fervent aspiration of the ethnic minorities is to quickly achieve economic and cultural development, to free themselves of the serious consequences of old systems with the aim of improving their material, cultural and spiritual lives and catching up to the general level of development. Therefore, one indispensable requirements in the implementation of the party's nationalities policy is: "the state must increase its investments in ethnic areas and all levels of the party and administration, all mass organizations must make every effort to achieve economic and cultural development and promptly meet the pressing needs in the production and daily lives of the ethnic minorities, especially in highland areas and area along the border, with a view toward narrowing the differences that exist as a result of history in the levels of economic and cultural

development among ethnic groups."(3) Within the context of the advance to socialism, this is also a legitimate aspiration of the ethnic minorities.

With their vast lands and many diverse potentials in agriculture (especially industrial crops, pharmaceutical crops, special product crops, livestock production and forestry) and industry (especially mining, hydroelectric power production, the processing of agricultural, forest and native products...), the mountains, in general, and ethnic minority areas, in particular, occupy a very important position in socialist industrialization. The requirements involved in strengthening our security and national defense, in firmly defending the borders of the fatherland also demand that we accelerate economic and cultural development and organize the life of the population well in ethnic areas. Gradually narrowing and eventually eliminating the differences that exist in economic and cultural development between the ethnic minorities and the ethnic majority with the aim of achieving equality in real terms among ethnic groups are a very important part of the socialist revolution and socialist construction in our country and are currently a pressing requirement in carrying out our people's two strategic tasks of successfully building socialism and firmly defending the socialist Vietnamese fatherland. However, this work is the undertaking of the entire country, of all localities, of all sectors and levels, not just the undertaking of the mountain region. To succeed in this undertaking, we must closely combine the efforts of the ethnic minorities to make progress with large investments and a great deal of assistance from the state while developing mutual assistance between the ethnic majority and the minorities and among the ethnic minorities. Without thus mutual assistance and without investments by the state, the redistribution of the population and labor from the lowlands to the mountains, from highland areas to lowland areas or vice versa in order to develop production and strengthening the national defense system cannot be carried out smoothly or yield lasting results. This will make it impossible to gradually achieve true equality in every field among the ethnic groups. Of even greater importance is the need to carry out this undertaking under a nationwide master plan, under plans for each region and province, plans that are practical in terms of their contents and requirements, provide for suitable stages of development, utilize the strengths and correct the weaknesses of each area and select and build upon the special characteristics and fine traditions of the various ethnic groups.

3. Strengthening the cohesion and harmony among the ethnic groups that make up the Vietnamese national community on the basis of the tradition of unity among the ethnic groups.

During the past 40 years, the tradition of all ethnic groups in our nation uniting to build and defend the country has experienced very stern challenges and reached an unprecedented level of development. In fact, since ancient times, no revolutionary movements have been as intense, no revolutionary movements have mobilized, rallied and united each ethnic group in the lowlands as well as the mountains, the ethnic majority as well as the ethnic minorities, as widely as those of the past 40 years have. This tradition of our country's ethnic groups of uniting to build and defend the country has also been built and developed upon by our party, a genuine Marxist-Leninist party, under the new conditions of history and on the basis of the stand of

the working class. Never before has our nation, the ethnic majority as well as the ethnic minorities, so closely shared a common destiny or faced a common future as they do today. As a result, the common factors of the national community, the special traits shared in common by the people of Vietnam are constantly being built upon and strengthened. With the great victory won in the spring of 1975, the Vietnamese national community acquired a unified territory, thus enabling it to work together to build and develop a common socialist economy, a common socialist culture.

During the past 10 years, ever since the entire country began advancing to socialism together, began developing upon its advantages and overcoming its difficulties together, our people in every region of the country have, in the process of carrying out the socio-economic tasks set by the resolutions of the party, markedly strengthened the cohesion and harmony among ethnic groups. New expressions of the factors common to the Vietnamese national community have become more clearly defined with each passing day. For example, the national language (both spoken and written) have been widely popularized within each area of the country and each ethnic minority. Today, if not all, at least the vast majority of the ethnic minorities throughout the country, including those in highland and border areas, speak and understand the national language. This not only provides a very convenient means of communication among the ethnic groups, not only provides a tool by which the ethnic minorities can quickly acquire and learn culture and modern science and technology so that they are able to exercise collective ownership within our reunified nation, but is also an exceedingly important common factor in strengthening our national unity and national harmony.

It can be said that over the past 40 years, with all the advances they have made, we have seen the emergence of clear and ever stronger cohesion and harmony among the ethnic groups of our country as they advance to socialism to create a unified and socialist Vietnamese national community. As the pace of socialist construction has increased, the ethnic groups of our country have grown closer together and lived in increasing harmony. On this basis, a unified Vietnamese socialist national community has come into being and developed strongly. This is the essential trend of development of our nation of Vietnam.

4. The training and steady growth and development of the corps of ethnic minority cadres are a very important factor in insuring the successful implementation of the party's nationalities policy.

In the ethnic minority areas, the revolution is mainly the undertaking of the ethnic minority masses, an undertaking which they carry out under the leadership of the party. The bridges that link the party to the ethnic minority masses can be nothing other than cadres and party members who themselves come from the ethnic minority masses, who are related by blood to the people of the ethnic minorities and share close emotional bonds with them. Since its founding, our party has attached very much importance to training ethnic minority cadres, considering this to be a very important part of its nationalities policy. In all resolutions and directives concerning work in the mountains and work among the ethnic minorities, our party has always stressed the need to train ethnic minority cadres. At the same time, it has

adopted correct policies concerning cadres from the lowlands who work in the mountains. It is impossible to even talk about organizing and mobilizing the masses of the ethnic minorities for revolutionary work, about the right of collective ownership and equality of the ethnic minorities without giving attention to the corps of cadres and party members who are themselves members of the local minority. Facts have also very clearly shown that every locality that has a strong and solid corps of local ethnic cadres has very good conditions in its favor for advancing the revolutionary movement. Without such a corps, localities encounter many difficulties.

To train ethnic minority cadres, our party and state have enacted many specific policies, systems and measures, such as the policy on establishing a pool of prospective cadres, organizing supplementary education schools and classes, providing training in cultural subjects, organizing separate requirements on enrollment at the academies and colleges that are open to everyone, etc. Through 40 years of steadfast efforts, through revolutionary movements of the masses in production, construction and combat, in protecting the administration and developing the party, our party has trained a corps of cadres and party members who represent all ethnic groups within the country, even groups that number only about 1,000 persons. This corps consists of cadres working at basic units, on the local level and at other places, leadership cadres, management cadres, specialized, professional cadres and scientific-technical cadres. Local ethnic cadres and party members account for 60 to 70 percent of the total number of district party committee and administration members and 50 to 60 percent of the total number of provincial party committee and administration members (in the southern provinces, this percentage is lower). Eleven are members of the 5th Party Central Committee; three hold the position of vice chairman of the National Assembly (the 7th National Assembly); two are members of the State Council; two are ministers, six are provincial party committee secretaries, seven are provincial people's committee chairmen; dozens are generals and thousands are field grade officers within the people's armed forces; tens of thousands are specialized cadres or scientific-technical cadres, about 10,000 of whom have an academy, college or post-graduate education... The figures show that the corps of ethnic minority cadres has been built relatively quickly and has taken a rather long stride forward in its growth and development. This has been one of the most important victories recorded under the party's nationalities policy. The brilliant results presented above have not been achieved without unswerving concern for this issue on the part of our party and state, on the part of all levels and sectors, from the central to the basic levels. They have also not been achieved without the guidance, assistance and wholehearted collaboration of the cadres from the lowlands who are working in ethnic minority areas. These brilliant results also show the tremendous revolutionary capabilities of the ethnic minorities and the tremendous contributions they have made under the correct leadership of our party. Today, the corps of ethnic minority cadres is truly a force of activists in implementing the right of collective ownership of the ethnic minorities, in achieving equality for the ethnic minorities, is an extremely important factor in insuring the successful implementation of the party's nationalities policy in the new stage.



#### FOOTNOTES

1. "Bao cao chinh tri cua BCHTUD tai Dai hoi IV"[Political Report of the Party Central Committee at the 4th Congress], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1977, p 164.
2. Ibid.
3. "Van kien Dai hoi V"[Proceedings of the 5th Congress], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1982, Volume I, p 133.

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## SOME QUESTIONS ON STRENGTHENING THE SOCIALIST SYSTEM OF LAW

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 10, Oct 85 pp 34-40

[Article by Phan Hien]

[Text] With the victory of the August Revolution, our people, under the talented leadership of the vanguard party of the working class, threw off the yoke of domination by the colonialists and their lackeys, seized political power and established the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

On 2 September 1945, at Ba Dinh Square (Hanoi), President Ho Chi Minh delivered the Declaration of Independence. The Declaration of Independence stated: Vietnam "hereby severs all relations of a colonial character with France," "abrogates the treaties signed by France concerning Vietnam and abolishes each special privilege of the French in Vietnam" and "Vietnam has the right to be free and independent and has, in fact, become a free and independent country." As the first basic political and legal document of our state, a document that had an impact at home and abroad, the Declaration of Independence ushered in the era of our people, once slaves who had lost their country, becoming the masters of the country, the masters of their destiny.

During the past 40 years, our people have shed much blood defending the country. The war of resistance against the war of aggression of the old style colonialism of the French imperialists was followed by the resistance against the neo-colonialist war of aggression of the U.S. imperialists and then by the fight against the wars of aggression of the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists on the southwestern and northern borders of our country. Today, our people still cannot relax their vigilance and must always be ready to deal the aggressors the retaliatory blows they deserve.

The past 40 years have been 40 years during which our people have made every effort to build the country in every respect.

The past 40 years have also been 40 years of building and implementing the revolutionary system of law to help support the tasks of building and defending the country.

## The Historic Milestones in the Process of Building and Implementing the Revolutionary System of Law

Since the Declaration of Independence, there have been some very important milestones in the process of building and implementing our people's system of revolutionary law.

As soon as it was born, our state had to contend with countless political, military, economic and social difficulties and obstacles in the fields of both domestic and foreign affairs. The revolutionary administration had to be built and strengthened to meet the requirements of its new tasks.

On 6 January 1946, our people, in a general election, elected the first National Assembly of our country. On 9 November 1946, the National Assembly ratified the first Constitution--the constitution of the stage of the people's national, democratic revolution--which established the right of our people to be the masters of the country and established the democratic freedoms of the citizen.

Following the victory in the war of resistance against the French colonialists, the North, having been totally liberated, began the socialist revolution. Meanwhile, the South, which remained under the domination of the imperialists and feudalists, continued to carry out the people's national, democratic revolution. The 1946 Constitution was no longer entirely suitable. On 31 December 1959, the National Assembly ratified the first socialist Constitution. The 1959 Constitution confirmed the will and aspiration of our people to build socialism in the North and struggle to reunify the country with the aim of building a Vietnam of peace, unity, independence, democracy, prosperity and strength.

With the total liberation of the South and the reunification of our country, the entire country began working together to carry out the two strategic tasks of building socialism and defending the socialist fatherland. A national assembly of the entire country (the 6th National Assembly) was elected. The National Assembly changed the name of our country to the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and decided to establish nationwide uniformity of laws and draft a new constitution. On 18 December 1980, the new Constitution was ratified. It codifies the line of our party in the period of transition to socialism nationwide.

Each Constitution has been the product of the brave struggle waged by our people during a particular stage in the revolution to defend and strengthen the nation's independence and achieve success in building the country. The Constitution confirms the gains made in each stage of the revolution and outlines the tasks of the coming stage. On the basis of the Constitution and in order to implement the Constitution--the basic law--our state has promulgated necessary legal documents that regulate specific matters to help insure that the tasks of the revolution are carried out in accordance with the lines and policies of the party. In every period, documents have been promulgated on matters of a general nature, such as the organization of the people's administration, fighting foreign aggression, suppressing counter-revolutionaries, the rights and obligations of the citizen, protecting public

property, managing the economy, culture, society and so forth. Of course, each period has its own characteristics, characteristics that cannot be ignored. Besides general matters, those matters that are special to each period must also be regulated. For example, in the people's national, democratic revolution, there were laws on reducing land rents and interest rates, on confiscating the cropland of Vietnamese traitors and reactionaries and distributing it to poor peasants and the agrarian reform law; in the socialist revolution, there are laws on socialist transformation, socialist construction...

At the very outset, our state, under the firm leadership of the party and President Ho, showed itself to be a conventional state. However, in the field of drafting and developing laws, the state had to learn while performing this work and gradually gain experience. The country also had to continuously focus its efforts on resisting foreign aggression. The state was thus unable to avoid certain weaknesses and shortcomings. Generally speaking, however, the laws of the state have competently supported the tasks of the revolution in its various periods.

#### Perfecting the System of Law

Both the 3rd National Congress of the Party (September 1960), which dealt with building socialism in the North and the struggle to achieve the reunification of the country, and the 4th National Congress of the Party (December 1976), which was the congress of the total victory of the cause of national liberation, the congress of the reunification of the fatherland and the start of the advance by the entire country to socialism, called for the strengthening of the socialist system of law. The 5th National Congress of the Party (March 1982) confirmed the need to continue to implement the lines set forth at the 4th Congress. When concretizing this line, the 5th Congress of the Party also emphasized: "Strengthening the socialist system of law is a pressing requirement in increasing the management effectiveness of the state."

In Article 12, the 1980 Constitution states: "The state manages society by laws and constantly strengthens the socialist system of law."

The socialist system of law is the instrument by which the proletarian dictatorship is implemented. On the basis of this system, the socialist state manages society by laws, establishes laws to regulate social relations and demands strict compliance with the law throughout the country.

Lenin pointed out: "Will, if it is the will of the state, must be expressed in the form of a law drafted by the government, otherwise the word 'will' is nothing more than a movement of air generated by a meaningless sound." (1) Lenin also taught: "Unless we are to become utopians, we cannot think that after toppling capitalism, we will immediately be able to perform work for society without the need for any legal standards whatsoever..." (2) Within our state, the law expresses the will of the working class and the aspirations of the laboring people. It codifies the lines and policies of the party. General Secretary Le Duan gives us the following analysis: "Only through the state, only by means of systems, regulations and standards of the state, by means of the system of economic law and the entire system of state law can the

lines, policies and tasks set by the party become part of social life and be implemented."(3)

Our state establishes laws for the purposes of maintaining security, strengthening the national defense system and maintaining our readiness to deal with and defeat the schemes and acts of aggression and sabotage of external enemies and for the purpose of punishing elements of the overthrown exploiting classes who have yet to accept their fate and elements opposed to socialism.

The law defines and upholds the principles of socialist democracy. The law stipulates and guarantees the democratic freedoms of the people.

The law defines the system, structure, tasks, authority and mode of operation of state agencies and social organizations.

The law stimulates the birth and development of the various segments of the socialist economy while restricting and eventually eliminating the non-socialist segments of the economy.

The law regulates labor and resolves distribution problems within society.

The law insures the development of science and technology, insures that the ideological and cultural revolution is carried out...

The socialist state manages all domestic and foreign affairs of the country, manages each economic activity and every aspect of social life. The socialist state is very highly organized and disciplined. As a result, the scope of regulation of socialist law is very broad. To fulfill its regulatory function well, socialist law must become an increasingly full body of law, must constitute a complete system. However, as observed by Chairman Truong Chinh when reporting on the draft of the 1980 Constitution, the reality of our country is that we "must correct an abnormal situation... namely, that the system of law is very far from being complete. In particular, there is a need for many economic laws. Frequently, directives of the party or sub-legal documents of the government are used in place of laws."

Our state has been and is making efforts to rectify these shortcomings. Since the ratification of the 1980 Constitution, legislative activities have been accelerated and begun to be carried out in accordance with a program and plan. A number of laws and regulations have been promulgated. A memorable event recently occurred when, in June, 1985, the National Assembly ratified the Code of Criminal Law, our state's first code of law. The Council of Ministers has also issued many documents concerning matters under its jurisdiction, primarily in the economic field.

Generally speaking, however, the drafting of laws is still proceeding slowly. There is still a rather large number of matters that are not regulated or regulated in detail. The drafting of a number of codes of laws and specific laws was organized many years ago but has yet to be completed... To correct this situation, the drafting of laws must truly be planned, must be under the close guidance of the Council of Ministers and the close leadership of the

Party Central Committee. All responsible agencies must display high determination by providing the necessary cadres and allocating an appropriate amount of time and means for the drafting of laws.

The law is characterized by stability. The provisions of laws are generally designed to remain in effect for an unspecified amount of time. However, stable does not mean rigid or unchanging.

Society is continually developing. To keep abreast of life, the law must keep pace with the development of society, must reflect and stimulate this development. When important changes in the social situation occur, existing laws must be promptly amended and revised and new laws must be established to meet the requirements of the new situation.

The 8th Plenum of the Party Central Committee pointed out: we must completely dismantle bureaucratic centralism and subsidization and correctly implement the system of democratic centralism, economic accounting and socialist business practices. The correct implementation of this policy demands that we re-examine existing, related economic legal documents so that we can appropriately amend and revise them, cancel outmoded regulations and enact necessary new regulations.

Therefore, to strengthen the socialist system of law, we must concern ourselves with developing an increasingly full system of laws, a system that is constantly abreast of the requirements of the revolution.

#### Insuring Strict Compliance with the Law

The law can only fulfill its functions of organizing and regulating social relations and can only possess vitality when it is strictly obeyed. When laws have been enacted, even a complete body of law, but the law is not correctly carried out, is not truly a part of life, a system of law does not exist. Strengthening the socialist system of law does not simply involve increased efforts to build and refine the body of law, but basically requires that we fully carry out and perform the measures and jobs designed to insure that the law permeates all fields of social life.

Each state agency, each social organization and each citizen must strictly comply with the law. It is even more necessary that party members and cadres set a good example in complying with the law. No one, regardless of his position in society, may place himself above the law. No one has a special right to ignore the law, to violate the law. Very regrettably, over the past several years, those persons who have violated the law, and very frequently those persons who have committed serious violations of the law, have included a considerable number of cadres and personnel of state agencies and social organizations. "If persons who carry out the law, to whom much power has been entrusted, do not first keep themselves within the bounds of the law and if they go on to abuse their authority, the actions that they take in violation of the law will cause especially serious harm to society, to the people."<sup>(4)</sup> Many documents of the party and the Council of Ministers have directed that we must appropriately deal with cadres who are degenerate or deviant, who misappropriate public property, who support undesirable elements, who abuse

their position or authority and intimidate the masses. General Secretary Le Duan said: "The higher the person's position is and the greater the authority he has been given, the more he must set an example in complying with the law and the more severely he will be punished if he violates the law."(5)

The law of our state expresses the will and aspirations of the people. The nature of our law is such that it can be easily obeyed by everyone. The problem is that we must constantly and widely propagandize and publicize laws, must teach and heighten the sense of complying with the law. Only when the people clearly know their obligations and rights, when they clearly see what they may and may not do, when they see what they must do and why they may or may not do something, will they display a high spirit of ownership and comply with the law. Moreover, this is also an effective way to struggle against negative phenomena and compel others to comply with the law.

Some agencies of the party and state have long been concerning themselves with propagandizing and publicizing laws, with educating the public in the law; however, this work has not been planned, consequently, there is a lack of close coordination among the various sectors and levels and we have not made full use of the means, forms and methods of propaganda and education available to us.

We must study the experience of the fraternal socialist countries in teaching citizenship at general schools and providing instruction in the law at colleges, vocational middle schools, trade training schools and even party schools. In many countries, children are familiarized with the law, with some of the rules of socialist life while still in nursery school and kindergarten through interesting forms of activity.

Our party and state have adopted the policy of incorporating the law in the program of study at schools; however, this policy is being implemented slowly. The responsible agencies must quickly rectify their shortcomings.

The 1959 Constitution and the current 1980 Constitution laid the foundation for organizing the system of agencies and work involved in inspecting and supervising compliance with the law from the upper to the lower levels, from the lower to the upper levels.

Most important are the state inspection and supervision of compliance with the law carried out by the National Assembly, Council of State and people's councils on the various levels, by National Assembly deputies and people's council representatives, by the Council of Ministers, ministries, agencies on the ministerial level and general departments and by the people's committees on the various levels and specialized agencies. The control sector specializes in supervising compliance with the law by state agencies, social organizations and citizens. The courts and economic arbitration agencies also have the function of supervising compliance with the law through their trial and arbitration activities.

Besides state inspection and supervision of compliance with the law, supervision of a social nature is being steadily expanded. The political base upon which this supervision is carried out is the right of collective

ownership of the people. Political power belongs to the people, consequently, the agencies of the state, social organizations, the personnel of state agencies and the personnel of social organizations must be under the supervision of the people. The people exercise this right through their mass organizations, especially the Trade Union, the Youth Union and the Women's Union. In recent years, the state has also established people's control committees consisting of outstanding workers, personnel and citizens that are elected by the masses and operate within basic administration units, basic economic units and basic work units. The people's control committees have shown themselves to be a very good base of support of the specialized control agencies of the state.

The state has established the right of the people to file complaints and suits. Depending upon the case, persons who file complaints or suits are protecting their rights or the rights of the state, the collective or another citizen. In each of these cases, all of these persons have the right to bring matters to the attention of authorized agencies and struggle against actions that violate the law. It is in this way that the people directly supervise compliance with the law.

Only within a state of which the people are the masters is it possible to establish the system of agencies and organizations described above, possible to carry out the system of jobs described above. From the standpoint of violations of the law, even crimes, in our society, the present situation is very complicated. At certain times and places, it is serious. The problem we face is that in order to help improve this situation, the agencies and organizations mentioned above must develop their role even more, must conduct more regular, widespread and thorough activities, must closely coordinate these activities with the inspection activities of the various organizations of the party.

With regard to inspecting and supervising compliance with the law, there is one job of special importance: checking the legality of documents that set legal norms (called norm documents). These documents directly or indirectly define the rights or obligations, if not of all society, at least of a majority of persons. They regulate social relations for a period of time that is generally long. Their application is repeated many times. Therefore, they have a broad impact upon social life. These documents cause serious harm if they do not correctly reflect the lines and policies of the party and state, if they are not drafted and promulgated by the correct authority, by the correct procedures or if their contents are at variance with the Constitution, at variance with the norms of the upper level. While it is important to check the legality of applied documents (the documents that apply the provisions of a norm document in individual cases), it is even more important to check the legality of the documents that set norms. We have long failed to give appropriate attention to this work. This is a shortcoming that must be rectified.

The implementation of socialist law is based primarily on voluntary, conscious compliance by each person and achieved mainly through education and persuasion. However, this does not mean that we should give light attention to compelling compliance with the law. General Secretary Le Duan has



asserted: "In conjunction with explaining the law, with teaching the law, we must compel compliance with the law, must closely control and appropriately prosecute violations of the law."(6)

Every violation of the law must be promptly discovered and then prosecuted in a quick, fair and thorough manner. Depending upon the seriousness of the case, either social measures should be taken or the case should be prosecuted for administrative, civil or criminal liability. Correct prosecution has the effect of educating persons who violate the law, stopping them from violating the law again, deterring and dissuading others and encouraging the people to prevent and struggle against violations of the law.

In our present social situation, in order to strengthen the socialist system of law, importance must be attached to perfecting the system of law and even more importance must be attached to insuring strict compliance with the law. The resolution of the 5th National Congress of the Party established the task of "successfully correcting the abnormal situation in which many laws and regulations have been promulgated but are not being strictly obeyed, even not being obeyed at all." Addressing the National Justice Conference held in January 1983, Chairman Pham Van Dong reminded us: "At present, our laws are inadequate, the system of law is incomplete and we must still make very large efforts in the areas of researching and drafting laws. However, the pressing need deserving of concern now is to work to insure that the Constitution and the laws that have been promulgated are strictly implemented."

To implement the above policy of the party and carry out the instructions of the chairman of the Council of Ministers, the responsible agencies must, depending upon their function, widely propagandize and publicize the law, thoroughly teach consciousness of the law, closely supervise and inspect compliance with the law and resolutely prosecute violations of the law. To insure successful prosecution, a vigorous struggle must be waged against the attitude of protecting persons who have committed a mistake or a crime and against acts of intervening with no basis in principle in the work of prosecuting agencies, regardless of the position in society of those persons who protect others or intervene in this work. And, once prosecution has been completed, the decision of the authorized agency must be resolutely enforced.

Strengthening the socialist system of law is clearly an objective necessity, one that is closely associated with the tasks of constantly expanding and strengthening the right of collective ownership of the laboring people and constantly building and strengthening our state, thus insuring the effectiveness of state management. The policy of our party and state on strengthening the socialist system of law is consistent with what was pointed out by Lenin: "As the conditions of a solid and certainly more progressive administration, as exchanges among the public develop, it becomes an even more urgent necessity to adopt the resolute slogan: 'A broader and larger system of revolutionary law.'"(7)

#### FOOTNOTES

1. V.I. Lenin: "Collected Works," Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1981, Volume 32, p 429.

2. V.I. Lenin: "On the Socialist System of Law," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1970, p 170.
3. Le Duan: "Cach mang xa hoi chu nghia o Viet nam"[The Socialist Revolution in Vietnam], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1976, Volume II, p 446.
4. Ibid., Volume IV, p 337.
5. Ibid., Volume IV, p 338.
6. Ibid., Volume IV, p 337.
7. V.I. Lenin: "On the Socialist System of Law," p 173.

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## NGHE TINH THROUGH 40 YEARS OF REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 10, Oct 85 pp 41-47

[Article by Nguyen Ky Cam, secretary of the Nghe Tinh Provincial Party Committee]

[Text] During the past 40 years, Nghe Tinh has experienced four separate stages of history:

1945-1954: protecting and consolidating the young revolutionary administration; waging the "scorched earth" resistance; building Nghe Tinh into a solid rear area and providing manpower and materiel for victory in the resistance against France.

1954-1964: carrying out reconstruction and healing the wounds of the war; carrying out socialist transformation; establishing the new production relations; carrying out economic and cultural development; beginning the construction of the material-technical bases of socialism; and actively participating in the struggle to liberate the South.

1964-1975: fighting against the two wars of destruction waged by the air and naval forces of the U.S. imperialists; keeping communications open; doing our very best to support the fight to liberate the South and fulfill our international obligation, all in a manner closely tied to stepping up production, providing security for production and continuing to consolidate the new production relations, to maintain and develop our work in the fields of culture, public health and education.

1975 to the present day: overcoming the serious consequences of the war and continuous typhoons and flooding; rebuilding from the beginning the material-technical bases of socialism; standing shoulder to shoulder with the compatriots of the entire country in the fight to win victory over the two wars waged against us on the southwestern border and the northern border; and helping to gradually defeat the wide-ranging war of sabotage being waged by the reactionaries within Beijing ruling circles, stepping up production and bringing about new changes in the economy.

Looking back over these stages in their history, the party organization and people of Nghe Tinh feel inspired and proud over having made noteworthy

contributions in the struggle for independence and freedom, for socialism, thereby helping the nation to make the great gains that it has.

At the very outset of the war of resistance against the French colonialists, realizing the important role played by the rear area for the frontlines in the war of liberation, Nghe Tinh urgently built up its guerrilla militia and local forces, beat back each attack by the French invaders, staunchly defended the free zone and mobilized manpower and materiel for the battlefields. During the 9 years of the war of resistance against France, hundreds of thousands of persons in Nghe Tinh joined main force units and hundreds of thousands of others served as frontline corvee laborers. During the 7 months spent supporting the 1953-1954 winter-spring campaign, more than 1 million corvee laborers with thousands of horsedrawn carts and hundreds of boats and many other means of transportation contributed roughly 31 million mandays. In the war of resistance against the United States, Nghe Tinh was both the immediate rear area of the great frontlines and a flaming battlefield in the two wars of destruction waged by the air and naval forces of the U.S. invaders. From 5 August 1964 until the end of 1972, the U.S. imperialists flew 68,944 sorties (including B-52's and F-111's) in attacks on Nghe Tinh. They dropped more than 1 million bombs and fired hundreds of thousands of rockets and missiles on the province. Their warships at sea fired 218,171 artillery shells at the province. The bombs and shells of the United States killed 26,523 persons, injured 30,617 persons and destroyed 225,169 houses, 374 schools, 68 hospitals and 544 public health stations. The municipality of Vinh, Ha Tinh City and many towns and industrial centers were virtually destroyed in these attacks. Practically all water conservancy projects, main roads, factories, enterprises and warehouses were heavily damaged by U.S. bombs and shells.

In keeping with Uncle Ho's sacred teaching that "there is nothing more precious than independence and freedom," the armed forces and people of Nghe Tinh, upholding the tradition of the "heroic Nghe Tinh Soviets," overcame each hardship and sacrifice, fought with resourcefulness and bravery, kept roads open, shot down 820 enemy aircraft, killed or captured many pilots and sunk or set afire 72 enemy warships. Between 1965 and 1972, nearly one-half of Nghe Tinh's youths joined the armed forces and shock youth units and fought and supported combat operations on all battlefields.

In the two border wars unleashed by the Beijing reactionaries, Nghe Tinh also contributed along with the rest of the country to the brilliant victories that were won. Today, tens of thousands of Nghe Tinh's sons and daughters are with their units on the border and the islands, ready to fight to defend the fatherland, and fulfilling our international obligation to the two fraternal countries of Laos and Cambodia.

On the economic front, against the background of peace interspersed with war, combat interspersed with production, Nghe Tinh has gradually carried out socialist transformation, established and consolidated the new production relations and begun building the material bases of socialism.

The province's agriculture has steadily improved. The agricultural cooperativization movement, which we have been promoting since 1960, is being

strengthened more with each passing day. We now have twice as much farmland as we did prior to the August Revolution.

Under French domination, Nghe An and Ha Tinh Provinces had only two farmland irrigation systems and a number of reservoirs, which only provided irrigation for 15,000 hectares, less than 6 percent of farmland. Today, Nghe Tinh has 900 reservoirs and dams of all sizes and 142 electric pump stations. The projects include such large-scale projects as the Ke Go farmland irrigation project, which holds 300 million cubic meters of water and is capable of irrigating 22,000 hectares. Together with water conservancy projects, a system of state farms, stations and other farms equipped with agricultural machines and equipment has been built, as a result of which agricultural labor has been partially mechanized. The scientific-technological revolution within agriculture is gradually being carried out and achievements recorded in the field of biology (in crop varieties and livestock breeds) are being actively applied.

The changes made in production relations and production forces have resulted in a steady rise in agricultural labor productivity and total agricultural output within the province. Grain output rose from only 437,000 tons in 1955 to 793,000 tons in 1984.

The industry, small industry and handicraft trades of the province have experienced many ups and downs. Beginning with nothing and following 10 years of restoration and new construction (1955-1964), the province's industry began to develop. However, after that, Nghe Tinh's industry was heavily damaged, was virtually wiped out, in the two wars of destruction of the U.S. imperialists.

Following many years of hard work spent building everything over from the beginning and with the active assistance of the central level, Nghe Tinh's industry has gradually been restored and, in some areas, developed. A host of industrial enterprises has gone into production (such as the Vinh Machine Enterprise, the Water Conservancy Machine Enterprise, the Building Machine Enterprise, the Ship and Boat Building Enterprise, the Motor Vehicle Repair Enterprise, agricultural implement production and repair enterprises in the districts...). There is a system of building material enterprises (producing bricks, tiles, lime, cement and precast concrete) that is supplying a rather large quantity of building materials, thus meeting the needs of the state and people. A consumer goods industry producing such products as textile, earthenware, chinaware, glassware and wooden furniture and processing agricultural and marine products has begun to be built and has played a positive role in supporting production and everyday life. The small industry and handicraft sector, which was maintained during the war, has now developed strongly. In 1984, the value of industrial output was five times higher than in 1955. Together with the development of industry, the working class within the province has constantly been strengthened, both in size and quality, and is increasingly becoming an important force in economic, political and social life.

In the field of communications and transportation, the railroad system has been rebuilt. The road system has been upgraded and now extends all the way

into the rural areas of the midlands and mountains. The supply of means of transportation has been significantly increased. The information-liaison system has been strengthened and developed.

The above mentioned achievements that have been recorded on the economic front are not large and are, in some areas, even very low compared to requirements. However, in view of the facts that the economy is not developed, material bases are still underdeveloped and backward and we have had to continuously deal with wars and natural disasters, these achievements do indicate, to some extent, the tremendous efforts that have been made by the party organization and people of our province.

Another important achievement recorded by Nghe Tinh over the past 40 years is the start that has been made in building the new life, molding the new man and changing the living conditions of the people of the province.

Prior to the August Revolution, as was the plight of all other Vietnamese, the citizens of Nghe Tinh lived the miserable lives of slaves. When the country won its independence, they became free men and women, became the real masters of the country. This is the most significant and fundamental change that has occurred. Following 40 years of producing, fighting and building, the lives of the people of Nghe Tinh have undergone major changes. The desolation and disorder of bygone years have gradually disappeared in the hamlets. The majority of the houses in the countryside have tile roofs and every village has a school, a child care center, a cultural center, etc. Extraordinary advances have been made in the fields of public health, culture and education.

As regards public health, in 1945, there were only 2 infirmaries and 12 drug dispensaries with 300 beds and a very small number of physicians in Nghe Tinh. Today, the province has 38 hospitals and 2 sanitoriums with 5,780 beds, 832 doctors and high level pharmacists and nearly 10,000 middle and elementary level public health cadres. There is one physician for every 750 citizens.

In the field of culture, such activities as reading books, viewing films and attending art performances, have gradually become part of the everyday lives of the people. We quickly constructed a widespread network of cultural centers, libraries and clubs. The province has a radio station and a television station and the districts have wired radio stations and loudspeaker networks that extend all the way into the hamlets. In 1955, Nghe Tinh had only 2 movie units; today, the province has more than 60 movie units, 5 professional cultural entertainment units and hundreds of amateur literature and art units. The physical culture and sports movement has been promoted. It has gained the participation of increasingly large numbers of the masses and yielded initial results.

As regards education, prior to 1945, more than 90 percent of Nghe Tinh's citizens were illiterate. Back then, Nghe Tinh had only a few dozen elementary schools and a small number of middle schools, the enrollment of which represented 1.7 percent of the population. Today, a complete system of education has been established from the municipality to the countryside (including in remote, wilderness areas). At present, Nghe Tinh has 65 general middle schools and 865 basic middle schools with an enrollment of more than

700,000 students. If the supplementary education system is included, one of every three citizens is attending school. The corps of teachers has also grown rapidly, from 500 teachers during the first years following the August Revolution to more than 40,000 today. At present, 13,000 cadres working in the province's various sectors have a college or post-graduate education and 30,000 cadres have a middle level technical education. In addition, Nghe Tinh has supplied to the various regions of the country hundreds of thousands of cadres who have a college or post-graduate education. Within the "two goods" emulation movement of the education sector, our province's Cam Binh Village has emerged as a bright flower and been recognized as one of the country's advanced model units.

On the basis of the achievements mentioned above, it can be stated that the past 40 years have been an intense revolutionary period deserving of pride for the party organization and people of Nghe Tinh under the leadership of the Party Central Committee and the esteemed Uncle Ho. It has been a period during which Nghe Tinh has built upon the tradition of the "heroic soviets" and written some of the most glorious chapters in its history.

Looking back over the period past, we have begun to draw some lessons and experiences to apply and develop upon in the period ahead.

First, firmly adhering to the policies and lines of the party and strongly building upon the fine tradition of the province are the requirements of foremost importance in successfully performing each task of the revolution.

Revolutionary by tradition, Nghe Tinh has absolute trust in and possesses boundless loyalty to the revolutionary cause of the party. The party organization, beginning with the various party committee echelons, studies and gains a deep understanding of each policy and line of the party in order to firmly adhere to and apply them in a manner consistent with the locality's specific situation. At the same time, through the basic organizations of the party, they have given the people an understanding of the policies and lines of the party so that they voluntarily contribute to the revolutionary cause.

Adhering to the strategic thinking of the party during the resistance against France that "all the people wage the war of resistance, wage a full-scale, protracted war of resistance through self-reliance," the party organization led the people in fighting to defend themselves, turned Nghe Tinh into the strategic rear area, "waged the war of resistance in conjunction with building the country" and mobilized manpower and materiel for the battlefield. In the war against the United States for national salvation, adhering to the policies and lines of the party, the Nghe Tinh party organization gave the people an understanding of the position, role and large tasks of their locality in the performance of the two strategic tasks. As a result, Nghe Tinh calmly faced the relentless challenges of the devastating wars of destruction and successfully completed its task of supporting the frontlines. Between 1965 and 1972, under the slogan "not one person less than the armed forces need," more than 99 percent of the youths between the ages of 18 and 25 eagerly went off to either directly participate in combat or support combat operations on the various battlefields. Under the slogan "do not feel bad if a truck has not passed your house yet," Nghe Tinh met every challenge, endured every

sacrifice and kept roads open in every situation. Under the slogan "the sound of singing drowns out the noise of bombs," Nghe Tinh maintained its optimism and confidence and fought and produced while building the new life and establishing the new culture.

Since the complete liberation of the South and the start of the advance by our reunified country to socialism, the Nghe Tinh party organization has worked continuously to give the people a clear understanding of the difficulties and complex problems involved in advancing the economy from small-scale, underdeveloped and backward production, an economy ravaged by war, to large-scale, socialist production. Through the propaganda and education efforts of the party organization, the people of Nghe Tinh have come to understand that, in the new stage of the revolution, it is necessary to make extraordinary efforts, necessary to continue to endure hardships and sacrifices, necessary to save and practice frugality in order to contribute more and more to the cause of building and defending the fatherland. Therefore, the people of our province have continued to promote revolutionary movements with high zeal and determination.

During the past 40 years, the revolutionary movements of the people of Nghe Tinh have always been at the pinnacle of development and peak of strength also because the Nghe Tinh party organization has vigorously built upon the patriotic and revolutionary traditions of the province, has continuously tapped the precious virtues of the people of the province, such as their ardent patriotism, their diligence in labor, their bravery in combat, their tenacious, indomitable will to struggle, their willingness to face stern challenges, their ability to endure every hardship and sacrifice... In the realities of combat and production, these fine traditions and virtues have become enormous material strengths.

Secondly, it is necessary to know and be the masters of one's locality, to display a high degree of self-reliance and develop each potential of the locality.

Under the light of the resolutions of the party, Nghe Tinh came to see that it must move forward on the basis of its labor and arable land and that agriculture is the front of foremost importance. In recent years, our province has conducted studies, conducted experiments and made significant efforts in order to accelerate agricultural production. These studies and experiments have not always yielded the desired results. Once, in an attempt to quickly resolve the grain problem, we put practically all land available under the cultivation of grain without giving full attention to the soil, climatic and other natural conditions of each area. As a result, the grain problem remained unresolved and the output of the other types of agricultural products declined, thus causing a marked decline in total agricultural output. After that, we researched and investigated the different areas of the province and reorganized them in five economic zones: the coastal sandy zone, the lowland zone, the midland zone, the low mountain zone and the high mountain zone. Each zone has an appropriate economic structure and raises types of crops that are well suited to soil, climatic and natural conditions. Some land not suited to grain crops was shifted to the production of exported agricultural products that produce higher economic returns. We have also



changed and improved the seasonal schedule, shifting some land that produced only an unstable 10th month crop to the production of a stable, higher yielding summer-fall crop and raising a subsidiary food crop after the summer-fall season. The realities of the past several years have proven this policy to be an entirely correct one: production is more stable, grain output is higher and more agricultural products are being produced for exportation.

In the two wars of resistance against France and the United States, the gains that Nghe Tinh made also stemmed from the fact that the party organization and people of the entire province displayed a high sense of self-reliance, had confidence in their own strength and did not rely upon others. Today, in the work of building the economy, we are continuing to display this spirit. On the basis of the capabilities and needs of the province, our provincial party organization gradually found ways to redistribute labor and create a rational structure with the aim of developing our sources of labor and natural resources well. Since 1954, we have relocated nearly one-half million persons from densely populated to sparsely populated areas. As a result, even though Nghe Tinh is a large province with very complex terrain features, there are people living everywhere in the province and working to step up agricultural production, develop industry and the handicraft trades and turn forestry and fishing into main economic sectors. In addition to general planning and plan norms and the policies and systems established by the Party Central Committee and state, with which our province as well as all other provinces must fully comply, Nghe Tinh has formulated its own planning and plans and adopted suitable policies and measures with the aim of meeting "the most important requirement, of doing that which can and must be done first, namely, exercising collective ownership in order to make rational and efficient use of labor and arable land and strongly expand the sectors and trades at each basic unit, within each locality...(1)

Thirdly, it is necessary to promptly gain experience from the realities of the revolutionary struggle in order to improve the ability of the party organization to provide leadership and increase its fighting strength.

As a party organization that came into being at a very early date within a locality that has strong patriotic and revolutionary traditions and has experienced periods of bitter struggle against the enemy, the Nghe Tinh party organization has, more often than not, been among the party organizations taking the lead in implementing the lines and policies of the party. Nghe Tinh took the lead in the "soviet" movement; urgently and thoroughly carried out the "resistance scorched earth" policy during the war of resistance against France; carried out agrarian reform early and thoroughly; quickly carried out agricultural cooperativization and the redistribution of labor and the population on a large scale; built water conservancy projects early and everywhere, etc. These have been the new jobs in each period of the revolution. At the same time, they have been difficult and complex jobs, correctly recognizing the importance of which has always entailed a process: the person in the lead, the person who gets things started, usually records initial results but also finds it difficult to avoid problems and sometimes even makes mistakes. Of importance is the fact that the party organization acknowledges this process, views it with an objective, scientific attitude and promptly learns from experience on the basis of the principle of criticism

and self-criticism with the aim of developing upon strengths, upon that which is correct and overcoming and correcting weaknesses and things that are wrong. Through this process, cadres and party members have an opportunity to re-evaluate themselves, to learn more about themselves and their comrades, which, in turn, makes for stronger unity and increases the fighting strength of the party organization and its ability to lead.

The party organization attaches very much importance to training cadres and to developing the party through the realities of revolutionary struggle. Today, Nghe Tinh has a large corps of cadres, the majority of whom have been trained in both practical and theoretical knowledge and are trying to grow and perform the tasks of the revolution well. With more than 160,000 party members, the Nghe Tinh party organization is currently one of the largest. In each stage of the revolution, the party's corps has been supplemented with outstanding elements from within the working class, from among farmers and socialist intellectuals. At the same time, degenerate and deviant elements have been expelled from the party.

To support the leadership of the party well, the party organization has attached importance to building and consolidating the administration, from the provincial to the basic levels. Today, through the administrations on the various levels, socio-economic activities are being carried out under the mechanism "the party leads, the state manages, the people exercise ownership."

During the past 40 years, each step forward by Nghe Tinh has been closely connected to the concerned leadership and guidance of the Party Central Committee, the assistance of the sectors on the central level and other provinces and the encouragement, inspiration and sharing of our fellow countrymen and comrades throughout the country.

In the present stage, in view of its position and responsibility, Nghe Tinh must grow even stronger. The party organization and people of our province deeply remember the sincere words spoken by General Secretary Le Duan: "The men and women of Nghe Tinh and Nghe Tinh's natural resources are the great hope not only of the 3 million citizens of Nghe Tinh, but of the entire country as well... In the common cause of the nation and country, Nghe Tinh is an important strategic locality that has a very large responsibility from the standpoint of the economy and national defense."(2)

To be worthy of the trust of the Party Central Committee, worthy of the precious feelings that our fellow countrymen and comrades throughout the country have for the birth place of Uncle Ho, worthy of the compatriots and comrades from the land of the soviets who gave their lives for the revolutionary cause of the party and the nation and on the basis of the achievements that have been recorded, the party organization and people of Nghe Tinh pledge to make every effort to overcome each obstacle, correct everything that reflects conservatism and inertia and be determined to carry out each political task of the province very well, beginning with implementing the resolution of the 8th Plenum of the Party Central Committee, thereby bringing about a new change, making Nghe Tinh increasingly prosperous and strong and making worthy contributions to the cause of building and defending our glorious socialist fatherland.

# FOOTNOTES

1. "Van kien Dai hoi V"[Proceedings of the 5th Congress], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1982, Volume I, p 55.
2. Le Duan: "Speech to the Cadres of Nghe Tinh on 21 April 1979."

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## CHANGING AND IMPROVING THE INDUSTRIAL MANAGEMENT SYSTEM

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 10, Oct 85 pp 48-53

[Article by Vu Huy Tu]

[Text] Since the resolution of the 6th Plenum of the 4th Party Central Committee, the party and state have issued many resolutions on improving economic management, including policies on improving industrial management, with the aim of eliminating bottlenecks and stimulating the development of production. The recently adopted Council of Ministers' Resolution 156-HDBT on improving the management of state-operated industry and Council of Ministers' Decree Number 190-HDBT on improving the management of supply operations have begun to have a positive impact upon production and business activities at basic units. Many good models of management have emerged, thus helping the state to correct imbalances, maintain and develop production and stabilize the standard of living of manual workers and civil servants.

During the first 6 months of 1985, industry completed 47.7 percent of its plan for the year on the value of its total output, an increase of 10.2 percent compared to the same period of time last year, with central industry increasing by 11.7 percent and local industry by 9.4 percent. A number of important sectors, such as the electric power sector, the chemical sector and light industry, completed a high percentage of their plans and surpassed the first 6 months of 1984 by 5 to 18.4 percent.

However, many difficulties are still being encountered in implementing the recent resolutions of the party and state on industrial management and the results achieved have been limited because, for the most part, we continue to maintain the system of management characterized by bureaucratic centralism and subsidization, continue to carry out planning and management based solely on the system of allocations and deliveries and because economic accounting is artificial, is merely a matter of form. This management system has tied the hands of basic production and business units, has made them passive, made them rely upon the upper level and has also failed to encourage or compel enterprises to concern themselves with productivity, quality and efficiency. Wages are subsidized, are based on averages and do not provide incentive for productive labor.

Against the background of the realities of production and everyday life, against the background of this management system, the resolution of the 8th Plenum of the 5th Party Central Committee states: "It is necessary to completely dismantle the system of bureaucratic centralism and subsidization and correctly implement the system of democratic centralism, cost accounting and socialist business practices if we are to increase production and business in a way that is efficient." The resolution also points out: "Dismantling the system of bureaucratic centralism and subsidization as it applies to prices and wages is a pressing requirement, is the decisive breakthrough that must be made in order to shift the entire economy to cost accounting and socialist business practices on the basis of planning, of vigorously upholding the right of collective ownership of the laboring people and tapping the initiative and creativity of the various levels and sectors, of the basic production and business units throughout the country."

Thus, to increase their production and business and achieve efficiency, state-operated industrial enterprises absolutely must change and improve their management system. And, to change and improve the management system of state-operated industry, we must have a correct understanding of and resolve the following problems of major and immediate importance:

First, there is the problem of production costs and prices.

To be able to set prices in a way that is consistent with value and the actual purchasing power of the dong, the establishment of prices must be based on the plan being used as the center of operations, on shifting entirely to economic accounting and socialist business practices and on taking the initiative in applying the law of value and the law of supply and demand. One major and urgent measure proposed by our party that must be taken to improve the industrial management system is: "Calculating all cost factors and correctly determining industrial production costs."

Calculating all costs means not omitting any reasonable, necessary cost factors (cost items) as defined under state regulations and under average-advanced economic-technical ceilings on the use of raw materials, supplies and energy, on the use of machinery and equipment and fixed assets, in general, on labor, wages, bonuses, etc. For a long time, we have generally failed to include all costs in production costs. For example, as much as 70 percent of wages (including the value of essential goods), 50 to 60 percent of the depreciation of fixed assets and the majority of the value of supplies, especially imported supplies, still remain outside production costs because of the very low prices set for supplies and very low exchange rates.

Correctly calculated production costs are those that objectively reflect actual, reasonable costs incurred in production and business, those that do not include unreasonable costs, costs that are outside those being incurred in the production of products. These are costs that exceed ceilings on the consumption and use of energy, supplies, equipment, capital and labor; are costs that lie outside the scope of policies or regulations or exceed levels stipulated by the state; are penalties incurred as a result of violating economic contracts, etc. The results of studies conducted by the Ministry of Light Industry show that, in recent years, from 15 to 20 percent of coal and 5

to 10 percent of raw materials used in the production of paper have been lost during transportation from supply sources to enterprises. A similar situation exists at many enterprises in the other industrial sectors.

Calculating all cost factors and correctly establishing production costs are necessary and pressing requirements in objectively reflecting the amount of social labor that need be expended to produce products. This quantity is the standard for computing and evaluating the production-business efficiency of a basic production unit, a sector, a locality and the entire national economy, in general. Production costs also lay the initial foundation upon which product prices are set, upon which the state defines the financial relationships between enterprises, the sectors and localities and the budget, between capital formation and consumption, between production and the standard of living. For a long time, we have failed to calculate all cost factors and have not correctly determined production costs, consequently, the application of such important economic categories as cost accounting, economic efficiency, prices, wages, bonuses and so forth has been largely a matter of form, largely artificial and has not had the effect of stimulating production. Rather, it has impeded production and given rise to more than a few negative phenomena.

Fully calculating all costs incurred in production and correctly establishing production costs will help to strengthen and improve all aspects of management and enable us to take practical steps to reduce production costs and increase the formation of capital.

Therefore, calculating all costs incurred in production and correctly establishing production costs are the starting point and, at the same time, the inevitable result of the formation and perfecting the new management system.

How are we to fully calculate costs and correctly establish production costs when production-business conditions are unstable and dissimilar and many of the bases needed to calculate costs are incomplete and inaccurate, as is the situation at our country's industrial enterprises today?

To fully calculate costs and correctly establish production costs, it is necessary to correctly understand and resolve some matters of basic importance:

a) The need to correctly determine fixed asset depreciation factors (cost items): this is a difficult problem because the fixed assets of our country's industry consist of many different types, sizes and models imported from many countries of the world, encompass many different generations of technology and many different types of prices, were purchased at different times and have been in use for different amounts of time. As a result, in computing the depreciation of fixed assets, it is necessary to adhere to the following major principles:

--Depreciation must be calculated on the basis of a common price scale, with prices being sufficient enough to restore and replace fixed assets. As regards old equipment, it is necessary to take a general inventory and evaluate this equipment from the standpoint of the properties, effectiveness

and remaining use value of each type and to calculate depreciation on the basis of the costs that will be incurred in restoring each type fixed asset.

As regards newly imported fixed assets, the original price must be determined on the basis of the base import price, the new exchange rates and the domestic price policy in order to lay the foundation for calculating depreciation.

Depreciation rates have long been unreasonable. Existing rates are too low and the projected, new rates are too high. Therefore, capital depreciation rates must be adjusted on the basis of the original price (or the newly stipulated price) and a reasonable amount of time in use for each type fixed asset of each industrial sector.

--Requiring that depreciation in the form of major repairs be based on capital depreciation rates is unreasonable. These rates are too low and do not provide sufficient funds for major repairs to equipment during each planning period. To correct this situation, the rates for depreciation in the form of major repairs must be calculated on the basis of repair schedules, the ceilings on the materials, labor and costs per unit of repair work, on the prices of supplies and parts and on the new salary and wage scales set by the state.

--Depreciation must be calculated for all fixed assets that have been put into production. This depreciation must be calculated at the full rate and this rate must not be reduced for fear of increasing production costs.

--In a situation in which production is unstable, as is the case now, it is necessary, in order for depreciation to be calculated accurately, to base these calculations on the percentage of capacity utilized under the plan and on operational characteristics from either the industrial standpoint or the standpoint of the object of equipment. At the same time, this is a way to encourage enterprises to try to steadily increase the percentage of equipment capacity utilized.

b) The need to fully and correctly calculate the costs of materials for production: according to the resolution of the 8th Plenum of the 5th Party Central Committee, a one price mechanism must be applied to the supply prices ("input") as well as the product marketing prices ("output") that are managed exclusively by the state. Thus, will "four sources" of supplies continue to exist or will the state be the only source? If the state does not provide adequate materials, is the enterprise permitted to purchase materials on the outside? If it does, can the resulting products be marketed at a price higher than the price set by the state?

It is an objective necessity that basic production units be able to take the initiative in developing various sources of materials. Even in the advanced countries where production conditions are stable, the state does not exclusively manage or provide all the materials needed by enterprises. Under the conditions of our country, as stated in Council of Ministers' Decision Number 162-HDBT dated 14 December 1984 on organizing economic ties, these ties

are necessary for important reasons, namely, to develop supply sources, resolve difficulties and coordinate the production capacity of enterprises in order to maintain and develop production.

In keeping with this spirit, the following distinctions must be made when including the prices of materials in the production costs of industrial products:

The materials that are managed and supplied exclusively by the state are to be included in production costs at the prices set by the various management levels (with regional differentials). The prices of primary agricultural, forest and marine products are to be included at the prices set within state price scales.

As regards materials obtained by the enterprise itself, materials that had to be imported from a foreign country are to be included at the base import price at the rate of exchange in the internal balance of accounts set by the state for the entire country and in accordance with the domestic price policy. The aim of the state in applying the policy of compensating for differences in prices is to create a uniform price scale for the same type of material. As regards domestically produced materials, if their prices are set by the state, they should be included in production costs at this price plus reasonable procurement and transportation costs. If they are materials that are not governed by state prices, they are to be included in production costs at the price recorded in the contract or the negotiated price, which must be based on calculating all reasonable costs, providing a profit to the producer and providing for the accumulation of capital by the state.

c) The need to include all wages paid in money in production costs in accordance with the new wage policy of the state: this work demands that labor quotas be re-examined and adjusted or new ones be established so that all labor quotas are reasonable. These quotas encompass the expenditure of all types of primary labor, subsidiary and secondary labor and management labor per product unit. On the basis of general labor quotas and the new wage and salary scales and rates, the wage unit price is set for inclusion in production costs.

To include all wages in production costs, it is also necessary to re-examine and adjust social insurance rates, set reasonable levels of expenditure on allowances for housing, electricity, water, means of transportation, work tools, medicine and ordinary health care and include all these cost items in production costs.

d) Other cost items, such as shop costs, enterprise management costs and costs outside production, have generally risen by a very large amount in recent years and pushed up production costs. In keeping with the requirements of the new management system, these cost items must be urgently re-examined and set at reasonable levels.

In addition, it is also necessary to include in production costs a number of other items, such as the cost of exploration and development within the mining sector; the costs incurred in hiring specialists and the costs incurred in



economic ties with foreign countries. In view of the fact that the economic ties between basic production units and economic organizations and units of other countries are steadily being expanded and the fact that these costs also directly support the production and business of basic units, including them in production costs is both necessary and reasonable.

Thus, enterprises must "fully calculate" their costs and "correctly establish" their production costs. These steps reflect the determined and thorough nature of the struggle to dismantle the system of bureaucratic centralism and subsidization within economic management. Calculating all costs and correctly establishing production costs are also the first system of important measures in shifting entirely to economic accounting and socialist business practices.

Secondly, there is the problem of product marketing prices.

The marketing of products by enterprises must be done at the average industrial wholesale prices set by the state for the entire industrial sector. Only in cases in which the conditions needed to set a sector price do not exist can separate prices be set by each enterprise.

Industrial wholesale prices are set on the basis of the average production costs of the sector, include all reasonable production costs, provide a profit for producers and provide for the formation of capital by the state. Under normal conditions, enterprises must produce and do business at a profit; insure that the state need not compensate the enterprise for losses, except in special cases in which compensation for losses is required under policies, and even these cases must be examined in detail; and market the enterprise's products at enterprise wholesale prices (which consist of reasonable production costs and the stipulated profit).

Products for which state prices have yet to be set must be marketed by the enterprise at the prices set in contracts or at negotiated prices. At the same time, the enterprise must pay taxes or submit state-operated revenues for inclusion in the budget. Enterprises that are members of a federation of enterprises must sell semi-finished products they manufacture or provide industrial services to one another at enterprise wholesale prices.

Thus, enterprise cost accounting is based on the plan and production cost accounting, on enterprise wholesale prices. Enterprise cost accounting for products for which the state has not set a profit margin and from which it does not collect a profit (generally products that are produced outside legal norms) must be based on production costs, taxes (or state-operated revenues) and industrial wholesale prices. However, with all types of products, enterprises must concern themselves with industrial wholesale prices because if state-operated revenues (or taxes) are too high, they will push prices beyond the purchasing power of the market, products will become unmarketable and the production and business efficiency of the enterprise will thus be directly affected.

This is a very basic step, one which demands that enterprises change and improve their plans, initiate cost accounting and truly tie their plan to cost accounting and socialist business practices.

Thirdly, there is the problem of closely tying wages to productivity, quality and efficiency and implementing distribution in accordance with labor.

To perform this task, enterprises must, together with restructuring and reorganizing their production, reorganize their labor force on the basis of production and business requirements. In the process, enterprises must apply the new wage and salary scales and rates in a manner consistent with the skill level, the responsibilities and the production and work results of each person.

Under the requirements of the new management system, it is necessary to re-examine and readjust to reasonable levels such allowances in the wage fund as the third shift allowance, the hazardous work allowance, the responsibility allowance, the seniority allowance and so forth and the various bonus items within the wage fund and necessary to encourage the use of piecework wages. The mid-shift meal allowance must also be incorporated in wages.

Wages are a very basic means of supporting the daily lives of manual workers, civil servants and their families. The establishment of reasonable wages reflects a correct understanding of the decisive role and position of the worker in the production process. In our country, the realities of many years have shown that failing to give appropriate attention to wages and pay satisfactory wages has a direct influence upon efforts to maintain and replenish the energies expended in labor, upon the efficiency with which the other factors of production are utilized and upon production-business efficiency, in general. In addition, this failure also gives rise to more than a few negative phenomena in society.

Fourthly, there is the problem of credit financing.

With the aim of providing enterprises with financial autonomy and creating the conditions for enterprises to acquire all the capital they need for production and business, the resolution of the 8th Plenum of the 5th Party Central Committee points out that it is necessary to "convert the major portion of the investment capital and all liquid capital of the enterprise to credit."

From now on, in keeping with this spirit, the major portion of basic investment capital will be borrowed by the enterprise from the bank. The state will only allocate investment capital for major, important projects that exceed the capital capabilities of the enterprise itself or the amount of capital that can be borrowed from the bank.

This policy will insure that sources of capital are centralized in the hands of the state in order to carry out large-scale, key capital construction investment projects; at the same time, it will encourage enterprises to acquire much capital on their own and to take the initiative in effectively utilizing investment capital. From now on, all liquid capital of enterprises will also be converted to the form of capital borrowed from the bank. The aim of this policy is to make enterprises more responsible for utilizing capital efficiently and, at the same time, increasing the turnover of capital on a society-wide scale through shifting the operations of the bank to cost accounting and socialist business practices.

To implement this policy, it is, on the one hand, necessary for enterprises that are now in operation to determine how much liquid capital they have. If they have less than 50 percent of the liquid capital required under their plan, the balance will be funded by the budget. If they have more than the amount required, they must submit the surplus for inclusion in the budget. In the case of enterprises that have recently been put into operation, the state provides the entire 50 percent of the capital required under their plan. Thereafter, each increase in the need for liquid capital must be met by these enterprises by borrowing money from the bank and repaying it with interest.

On the other hand, finance agencies and the bank must restructure financing operations and guarantee sources of capital so that the bank can meet the credit needs of enterprises. The bank must improve its credit operations and has the responsibility of meeting the production and business capital needs of enterprises in a way that is direct and efficient. In particular, priority must be given to key enterprises. The bank must apply various forms of credit and different interest rates with the aims of encouraging the development of production, encouraging higher production efficiency and promoting technical advances, the improvement of products, the improvement of product quality and the expansion of exports. The bank can refuse to make loans in cases in which it deems that investment plans and production-business plans will not yield returns.

With a view toward establishing favorable conditions for the production and business operations of the enterprise, it is necessary to raise the limit on the amount of cash on hand to be consistent with the new price, wage and monetary system.

Under the new system, once the prices of domestic goods have been raised to avoid the need to compensate for losses (for many products), once exchange rates have been raised and once production costs are being fully calculated, it will be necessary to improve the policy on state-operated revenues along the following lines: reducing the rates at which these revenues are collected and, instead of collecting these revenues at many different stages, for one type product (bicycles, thread, cloth, ready-made clothing...), collecting them only at the final stage: the product (or semi-finished product) put into circulation. Maintaining the current policy on the collection of state-operated revenues will surely cause the prices of many types of products to quickly rise beyond the purchasing power of society and have a direct effect upon the standard of living and production. Moreover, it also will not have the effect of encouraging a higher level of specialization and cooperation in production within the national economy.

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## TEN YEARS OF BUILDING THE DISTRICT

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 10, Oct 85 pp 54-60

[Article by Nguyen Van Chan, secretary of the Dien Ban District Party Committee]

[Text] Determined To Build an Agro-Industrial Economic Structure Within the District

Following the liberation of their district, the party organization and people of Dien Ban focused their efforts on restoring and developing production and quickly overcoming the serious aftereffects of the war. Today, following 10 years of transforming and building the economy, we have begun to turn the district into a comprehensive socio-economic management level and establish an agro-industrial economic structure within the district.

Experience showed that to build and develop the economy, to build an agro-industrial economic structure within a district that was, for the most part, a sparsely populated, agricultural district, it was first necessary to chart the correct course, namely, focusing our efforts on agriculture, the front of foremost importance, successfully resolving the grain problem and so forth... and, on this basis, develop industry, small industry and the handicraft trades, carry out the redistribution of labor and establish an agro-industrial structure within the district. This course was consistent with the pressing need of our district following liberation day to quickly restore and develop production with the aim of stabilizing the living conditions of the people. On the agricultural front, we launched strong movements to clear land, restore fields to production, disarm bombs and mines and plan gravesites in coordination with planning fields, roads, water conservancy projects and residential centers with the aim of expanding the amount of area under cultivation. In conjunction with increasing the amount of area under cultivation, we changed the seasonal schedule, introduced new, high yield, short-term varieties of rice to replace the old system of rice varieties, introduced a spring-summer crop and applied well coordinated scientific and technical measures in the production of rice, subsidiary food crops and annual industrial crops, thus bringing about a rapid increase in grain output and resolving the food shortage. We stepped up collective and household livestock production and rapidly increased the output of meat, thereby providing enough to meet the needs of the people and fulfill obligations to the state while

generating a large quantity of fertilizer to support intensive cultivation and the improvement of fields. In a short amount of time, by displaying self-reliance and receiving assistance from the central level and the province, Dien Ban restored production and gradually improved the standard of living of its people. With that, our efforts to build the district entered the new period--the period of socio-economic development based on planning and plans.

On the basis of the locality's actual situation, our district defined the two economic strengths of the locality as agriculture and small industry and the handicraft trades and defined exports as a leading sector. Along with providing guidance to accelerate the development of a diversified agriculture, we have quickly restored and developed the traditional sectors and trades: sericulture, reeling and weaving silk, the making of brassware, bricks, tiles, etc. We have also encouraged the development of new sectors and trades, such as paper production, the harvesting and processing of wood, machine manufacture, milling and the production of a number of products of value as exports. The district has constructed many basic state-operated and collective industrial units and organized joint production and processing businesses between agricultural cooperatives and the small industry and handicraft sector. At the same time, we have vigorously developed the sectors and trades within agricultural cooperatives and the subsidiary household handicraft trades and gradually combined agriculture with industry at basic units and within the district as a whole. Today, in addition to 37 agricultural cooperatives, our district also has four state-operated enterprises, two joint enterprises, 25 specialized cooperatives, 19 cooperative teams and 37 sector and trade units within the agricultural cooperatives. As a result of clearly defining the potentials and strengths of the district, Dien Ban has completed the formulation of its master plan, the center of which is agriculture, small industry and the handicraft trades, expanded the amount of area under cultivation, established specialized farming areas and promoted intensive cultivation and multicropping, especially in the production of rice. For 6 years in a row, Dien Ban has recorded an average rice yield in excess of 10 tons per hectare on 6,000 hectares. During the 2 years 1983 and 1984, Dien Ban achieved an average rice yield of more than 11.3 tons per hectare. The district is now working to meet the target of 12 tons in 1985.

By the end of 1983, Dien Ban had met a number of primary targets set in its plan for the period from 1976 to the end of 1985. Total grain output reached nearly 74,000 tons, a five-fold increase compared to 1976, which represents an annual increase of 20.3 percent in grain output. Grain output per capita rose from 129 kilograms in 1976 to 500 kilograms in 1984. The value of total industrial, small industry and handicraft output reached 152 million dong (fixed 1982 prices) in 1984, a 31-fold increase compared to 1976, which represents an annual rate of increase of 52 percent. Industry, small industry and the handicraft trades account for 40.7 percent of the total value of the district's agricultural and industrial output. During the past 10 years, Dien Ban has met and exceeded its norms on the mobilization of grain (mobilizing five times more in 1984 than in 1976). Much progress has been made in the procurement of agricultural products, food products and export goods.

Dien Ban has a coastline that stretches for 8 kilometers. This, too, is a strength of the district. We have attached importance to developing the fishing industry in order to complete the agro-industrial structure of the district and concentrated our efforts on transforming and developing the fishing industry by combining "a foot at sea and a foot on shore," thus enabling us to catch and process marine products locally. We have established ties with the mountain districts; organized afforestation, forest conservation and the harvesting of forest products, established timber harvesting and sawmill enterprises; and implemented the policy on assigning land and forests to each village and cooperative to organize the planting of trees in a way that combines agriculture and forestry. The entire sandy, coastal area of the district has been covered with vegetation, thereby creating additional sources of income for the people and supporting the coastal defense line.

On the basis of the two strengths that we have in agriculture and small industry and the handicraft trades and combining the development of the fishing and forest industries, our district has adopted the policy of accelerating the exports movement, considering exports to be the leading element in developing a strong local economy. In the space of only 3 years (from 1981 to 1984), the value of the district's exports increased 15 times. This has had the effect of accelerating the formation of an agro-industrial economic structure within the district, providing jobs for laborers, helping the district obtain foreign currency with which to import materials and goods to support the production and daily lives of the local people and increasing the sources of budget revenues.

After correctly defining the locality's economic strengths and formulating the district's master economic plan, we established an agro-industrial economic model within our district that consists of five distinct economic-technical zones: 1) the three villages in the Go Noi area (south of the Thu Bon River) are the main area for sericulture, the production of export crops and the production of high yield rice; 2) the three villages in the sandy coastal area are the main area for the production of subsidiary food crops, annual and perennial industrial crops and tobacco, afforestation, the harvesting of marine products and the development of livestock production and they also raise vegetables and some wet rice; 3) the ten villages that lie along Route 1, along either side of the provincial highway and along the northern bank of the Thu Bon River are the area in which wet rice production is concentrated; 4) the area in the center of the district is devoted to small industry, the handicraft trades and the services; 5) the area of villages that raise rice and subsidiary food crops and specialize in sugarcane production and the processing of agricultural products.

To stimulate the development of production, we have concentrated on building commerce units within the district center and each economic-technical cluster, building the network of marketing cooperatives and credit cooperatives within the villages and agricultural cooperatives and building the corps of management cadres and personnel with the aim of meeting the requirements of the production and daily lives of the people. We have used economic levers, especially within the collective economy, to stimulate production and procurements to control the sources of goods. Today, the district has seven state-operated corporations that are managed by the district and are

practicing independent cost accounting. At the same time, we have expanded the network of marketing cooperatives and counters to each agricultural production unit, thus delivering goods directly to consumers; have placed limits on wholesale sales and increased retail sales; and have assumed the dominant position within the rural market, thereby insuring a supply of essential goods for cadres, manual workers, civil servants and retired and disabled persons. As a result, the district procures from 70 to 75 percent of the goods produced within it, controls the market from the standpoint of goods, money and prices and has unified the distribution of primary products and goods. Upon this basis, Dien Ban has instituted the signing of two-way economic contracts for trade in supplies, raw materials and goods between the state and farmers. At the same time, we have implemented budget management and have maintained a balanced budget within the district since 1982.

In conjunction with guiding the restoration and development of the economy, we have concerned ourselves with developing the general education network, supplementary education, child care centers, public health stations and hospitals. As a result of the planned parenthood campaign, the population growth rate was reduced from 2.8 percent in 1978 to 1.6 percent in 1984. We have promoted the cultural, literary-art and other movements, implemented the army's rear area policies well, closely combined the economy and national defense system and developed the district into a comprehensive management unit that has an agro-industrial structure and is a solid fortress in the defense of the fatherland.

#### Focusing Efforts on the Construction of Material-Technical Bases

Following liberation day, the Dien Ban District party organization faced a scene of widespread devastation. Nothing of any significance remained by way of material-technical bases. There was not one water conservancy project, not one textile loom, not one industrial facility. In view of these conditions, the district faced rather large and very diverse requirements with regard to building material-technical bases for the district at a time when the state was encountering difficulties with capital, supplies and raw materials. The need we faced was to adopt guidelines and stages of development that were consistent with the requirements involved in building the district economic structure and based on the characteristics of the situation at each place. We had to conduct planning, provide guidance and create the conditions for basic units to take the initiative while building material-technical bases within the district and each subarea and making it possible to implement district planning well. To begin with, we had to plan population centers and relocate gravesites in order to expand the amount of area under cultivation; build water conservancy systems and establish good coordination between communications and water conservancy; achieve the goal of cooperativization carried out in conjunction with the construction of water conservancy projects, considering water conservancy to be the measure of foremost importance in raising crop yields; and create the conditions for gradually introducing machines in fields and applying the various measures involved in investing in intensive cultivation in depth, raising crop yields and improving each ecological zone.

If we were to rely solely upon capital of the state at a time when the investment capabilities of the state have been very limited, amounting to only about 1 million dong per year, not enough to meet 10 percent of the district's minimum needs, we would never be able to carry out the tasks and meet the targets set in the district's plans and planning. This being the situation, the district party committee quickly adopted the policy of mobilizing the manpower and material of the people of the district to build the economy. During the past 10 years, under the guideline "the state and the people working together," displaying self-reliance and overcoming our difficulties in order to move forward, our district has constructed relatively well coordinated material-technical bases throughout the district, bases that have been effectively supporting the production and daily lives of the district's people. To date, the district has constructed 18 electric pump stations with 120 pumps, each of which has a capacity of 1,000 cubic meters per hour, dug 200 kilometers of primary canals and ditches, opened 11,000 hectares of farmland and improved 3,000 hectares of fields. The total amount of capital invested in the construction of economic, cultural, social and national defense projects by the district between 1976 and 1984 was nearly 315 million dong, more than 65 percent was mobilized among the people. This figure does not include the millions of mandays that have been contributed by the people.

As a result of investing in the construction of well coordinated material-technical bases, our district has virtually overcome the serious aftereffects of the war, changed the face of society and built a new, increasingly civilized and progressive countryside.

Closely Tying Construction to Transformation, the Building of the District to the Building of Basic Units

One victory of very large significance won by our district was its completion of the socialist transformation of agriculture in 1979, thereby establishing the new production relations in the countryside and bringing farmers into collective production. The socialist transformation of private, capitalist industry and commerce has also been completed, having brought 70 percent of handicraftsmen and 60 percent of small merchants into the collective production and work. This has helped to fundamentally change the nature of society and create new production capacity.

Realizing that the path to socialism requires that agricultural cooperativization be carried out and farmers be brought into collective production, our district, even in the process of restoring fields to production and clearing land, organized farmers in production teams with contract work quotas, teams that displayed a high spirit of unity and mutual assistance in production. In 1978, in conjunction with implementing water conservancy planning, we took the initiative in guiding the establishment of two pilot project agricultural cooperatives in Dien Tho Village. Following the successful establishment of these two pilot project cooperatives, we launched the agricultural cooperativization movement throughout the district. By late 1979, there were 37 agricultural cooperatives, 100 percent of farm households had been brought into collective production and 100 percent of cropland and the other means of production had been collectivized. Experience showed that building water conservancy projects in conjunction with carrying



out cooperativization and carrying out cooperativization by advancing directly from production solidarity teams with work contract quotas directly to high level cooperatives were consistent with the realities and the awareness of our district's farmers. Applying the party's line on cooperativization and the development of agricultural production, our district found an appropriate approach, establishing cooperatives of reasonable size, 200 to 250 hectares per cooperative, and establishing an average of 2.4 cooperatives per village, which are consistent with the law of advancing from small-scale production to large-scale, socialist production and respect the principle of voluntary association by farmers. When bringing farmers into cooperatives, we also applied many policies designed to encourage the development of production and consolidate the new production relations, such as a policy on making non-repayable investments in cooperatives and giving each cooperative 10 cubic meters of wood, 10 tons of cement and 100 tons of lime to build drying yards and storehouses and improve fields; a policy on paying income from cropland, setting prices for buffalo, cattle and farm implements, temporarily allowing cooperative members to borrow fertile land for production, allowing them to trade livestock manure for paddy instead of having to buy paddy in cash, etc.

Following the completion of agricultural cooperativization, we attached importance to applying scientific and technical measures in production and replaced the old allocation of rice varieties with a group of high yield varieties. All cooperatives have level II specialized seed units. The district has organized three cooperatives that specialize in producing seed for supply within the district. The hog herd has been improved, the percentage of crossbred commercial hogs has rapidly risen and the market weight of hogs has been increased. Integrated scientific-technical measures have been seriously implemented. The scientific-technological revolution has been closely tied to the production relations revolution and truly played the key role in quickly raising crop and livestock yields and output.

We have virtually completed the socialist transformation of the fishing industry, having established 31 cooperative fishing teams, built material-technical bases, equipped with fishing equipment and built processing and rear service facilities to support the fishing industry.

With regard to private industry and commerce, in the process of carrying out socialist transformation, we encouraged private businessmen to pool their business capital, establish many production teams and produce many products for the district. It is on the basis of this form of organization that we have moved forward. In this field, we have combined various forms: production teams, cooperatives, state-operated enterprises and joint businesses among cooperatives and between cooperatives and state-operated enterprises. Of these forms of organization, the cooperative is the most prevalent. It is consistent with our district's level of production and management and has yielded large economic returns. While developing small industry and handicraft production, we have attached very much importance to small industry and handicraft production within the agricultural cooperatives and among cooperative member families. In some villages, such as Dien Thang Village, practically all agricultural cooperative member households work in

the handicraft trades. The output produced by this household handicraft sector accounts for 30 percent of the value of the village's total small industry and handicraft output.

Among the various forms of small industry and handicraft cooperatives, the Dien Ban Paper Mill is a model. It came into being as a production cooperative team of private individuals who pooled their capital to establish the team, signs contracts with its workers, procures its own raw materials for production... The Dien Ngoc Building Materials Joint Business is a form of joint agricultural-industrial business between specialized small industry and handicraft cooperatives that produce building materials and three agricultural cooperatives in Dien Ngoc Village (it also emerged from a cooperative team). This joint business arose from the need to establish cooperation between cooperatives that specialize in the production of building materials and agricultural cooperatives. The agricultural cooperatives pooled their capital and supply labor and soil to the joint business and share annual profits with the joint business. In addition, Dien Ban has also established ties based on mutual benefit with other districts, such as Giang District in the mountains, to build units producing bricks, tiles and wooden furniture.

In leading the development of small industry and the handicraft trades, the district party committee has boldly applied many policies to gain the participation of and utilize persons who have capital and well developed skills and has succeeded in establishing rather plentiful sources of initial capital and gaining the participation of hundreds of highly skilled craftsmen. We have invited technical specialists from Ho Chi Minh City and Hanoi to Dien Ban to help design products and provide technical instruction within a number of production sectors. To encourage them to show us the full extent of their specialized skills, we paid them appropriate remuneration.

#### Building a Solid and Strong Party Organization in Conjunction with Launching Revolutionary Movements of the Masses

To build the district into a fully developed socio-economic unit, we have attached very much importance to building a solid, strong district party organization. Our efforts to build basic organizations of the party that are pure, solid and strong have been closely tied to our efforts to build the force of core cadres, from the production units to the chapters of the various associations and chapters of the mass organizations, build upon the role played by the party organizations at basic units as the leadership nucleus and stimulate the development of each revolutionary movement of the masses.

The Dien Ban party organization, a party organization that has a tradition of revolutionary struggle, was tempered and challenged in the war of resistance against the imperialist aggressors. Since liberation day, we have given our attention to building a party organization that is solid and strong politically, ideologically and organizationally and have constantly worked to increase the fighting strength of the party organization in order to make it increasingly capable and dynamic in building and managing the economy and society. We have taken many measures to build the organizations of the party at basic units in conjunction with building the district, considering this to be an important guideline in the party organization's work of building the

party. Maintaining and improving the qualities of party members have been accomplished through education to raise the political awareness of each person and improve each person's ability to conduct revolutionary activities.

To gradually reduce the average age of cadres and party members and increase the ability and fighting strength of the organizations of the party at basic units, we have concerned ourselves with developing the party. Over the past 10 years, we have accepted 1,200 persons into the party, practically all of whom have been outstanding Youth Union members and youths who were forged and challenged in the realities of revolutionary movements. The force of party members is evenly distributed, especially at the production units of the agricultural cooperatives, basic production and business units, schools, and within the armed forces. We have closely linked the development of the party to cadre planning, to the training of cadres. We have boldly assigned tasks to the corps of young cadres and have been training them through their work to be key cadres in revolutionary movements. At present, two-thirds of the basic organizations of the party within the district are pure, solid and strong and not one basic organization is weak. As a result, our district party organization has been awarded the "solid and strong district party organization" banner by the Party Central Committee.

In the present situation, the task of building and managing the economy demands that we have a corps of cadres who possess high political and cultural standards, possess knowledge of science, technology and socio-economic management, possess well established revolutionary qualities. In recent years, our district has opened schools to train or sent for training at schools of the province and the central level nearly 3,000 cadres of all types, including production unit cadres, the majority of whom are scientific-technical cadres and economic management cadres. Upon the completion of their training, many cadres and party members have returned to become competent, dynamic and resourceful leadership and economic management cadres and made worthy contributions to the cause of socio-economic construction and development within the district.

During the past 10 years, Dien Ban District has made encouraging strides forward in the task of transforming, building and developing the economy and society along socialist lines. The agro-industrial district model is taking shape more with each passing day within our district. In the new period, Dien Ban is determined to struggle and grow even more strongly, and change the direction of its entire socio-economic system toward opening three economic zones, carrying out local, intensive development, expanding our efforts at sea, organizing and redistributing labor, opening the new economic zone in the western portion of the province and continuing to build the agro-industrial economic structure. We will make exports the leading edge of development, closely tie the development of the economy to intensifying the revolutionary movements of the masses, closely tie our efforts to build a solid and strong district party organization to building the district and strengthening the district level. In the immediate future, we will make every effort to implement the resolution of the 8th Party Plenum and carry out the policies of

the party and state on prices, wages and money in order to completely dismantle the management system characterized by bureaucratic centralism and subsidization and shift entirely to cost accounting and socialist business practices in an effort to bring Dien Ban to new stages of development.

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## THE TEACHING OF TRADITION IN BEN HAI DISTRICT

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[Article by Hoang Van Hien, head of the propaganda and training section of the Ben Hai District Party Committee]

[Text] Ben Hai, which lies in the middle of unyielding Binh Tri Thien Province, was formed through the merger of two former districts: Vinh Linh in the North and Gio Linh in the South. As a result, Ben Hai bears characteristics of both zones of the country and is a microcosm of the province, of the entire country.

During colonial and feudal times, Ben Hai was exceedingly poor but very rich in revolutionary tradition. In the 1930's, the first communist party chapters, such as the Huynh Cong, Quang Xa, Thuong Lap and Cho Cau Chapters, were born. In August 1945, under the direct leadership of the Binh Tri Thien party organization, the two districts arose together to seize political power. When the French colonialists launched their war of aggression against our country, the two districts joined the rest of the country in waging the war of resistance against France and contributed to the victory that was won. In 1954, the Geneva Agreement made the Ben Hai River the temporary demarcation line between ourselves and the enemy. And, according to the agreement, after 2 years, the two sides were to negotiate the terms of an election to reunify the country. However, stubbornly intent on "extending America's border to the 17th parallel," the U.S. imperialists and their lackey clique made every effort to sabotage the agreement. In Gio Linh, they urgently rounded up the population and established strategic hamlets; imprisoned and barbarously murdered former resistance fighters; built a system of police stations and then set up the MacNamara electronic fence; sent in spies, commandoes and intelligence agents and combined these efforts with propaganda to distort, discredit and slander our system, with doing everything possible to sabotage the socialist North. With that, the gently flowing Ben Hai River became the river of partition. The closing of the Hien Luong Bridge created a situation in which northerners and southerners within the very same district, within the same village, even within the same family lived in painful separation for decades.

However, this same situation gave strength to the hatred of the aggressors by the armed forces and people of Ben Hai. To support the South in the struggle

to reunify the country, Vinh Linh, through its own efforts, with the concern of the Party Central Committee, the government and Uncle Ho and with the wholehearted assistance of the fraternal socialist countries, gradually carried out socialist transformation and socialist construction, built an increasingly strong economy and national defense forces and became the solid forward base of the North and the immediate rear area of the South. Gio Linh, under the direct leadership of the National Liberation Front and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam, advanced from political struggle and enemy proselyting to armed struggle and combined the "two feet, three spearheads" to kill the hoodlums, break the enemy's grip and defeat their pacification plan. The two districts became the focal point of the historic battle between the revolution and counter-revolution in Vietnam and the world.

On 5 August 1964, panic-stricken over the constant growth of revolutionary forces, the U.S. imperialists began bombing the North in a vain attempt to weaken the great rear area of the resistance and interdict the North's direct support of the South. Vinh Linh thus became a target of heavy enemy attacks. Everything that the party organization and people of Vinh Linh had built during the 10 years from 1954 to 1964 was completely destroyed by U.S. bombs. According to incomplete statistics, between 1965 and 1972 alone, the U.S. imperialists dropped on this small piece of land more than one-half million tons of bombs and shells, an average of 7 tons per capita, and many types of chemical poisons, leaflets, psychological warfare goods... Many villages were turned to ashes, many civilians and comrades of Vinh Linh were killed, many hospitals and schools were demolished, many bridges and fields were destroyed. However, feeling that "there is nothing more precious than independence and freedom," the armed forces and people of Vinh Linh overcame countless adversities and sacrifices, tenaciously and bravely retaliated against enemy aircraft, warships and commandoes, joined the rest of the country in providing manpower and materiel to the South, while directly providing manpower and materiel to Tri Thien-Hue, coordinated in a splendid manner with Gio Linh and dealt the enemy resounding defeats on the battlefield. In particular, on 11 November 1966, they shot down six aircraft and captured four U.S. pilots, as a result of which they received the following words of praise in a letter from Uncle Ho:

"For smashing the U.S. invaders, the five continents sing the praises of heroic Vinh Linh."

Gio Linh, which received support from the entire country, most directly from Vinh Linh, fought with tenacity, bravery, intelligence and resourcefulness and tore down the enemy's MacNamara electronic fence that extended from Cua Viet to Doc Mieu and Con Tien. Gio Linh closely coordinated with the Route 9-Southern Laos battlefield in defeating the "Lam Son 719" operation of the Americans and puppets in 1971, launching a series of attacks and uprisings to break out of enemy concentration camps and wipe out the enemy's system of police stations and in liberating the entire province in 1972. It closely coordinated with Tri Thien-Hue in creating a large liberated zone that served as the springboard from which our armed forces and people attacked the final

stronghold of the Americans and puppets in the spring of 1975, the spring of great victory. In practical terms, from mid-1967 on, the Ben Hai River was no longer the military demarcation line between ourselves and the enemy.

All together, during the 20 years of the resistance against the United States for national salvation, the armed forces and people of Ben Hai, together with main force units, killed or put out of combat nearly 50,000 enemy troops, including nearly 8,000 Americans; shot down 461 aircraft; sunk or set afire hundreds of ships and boats and destroyed thousands of vehicles; captured tens of thousands of weapons of all types and thousands of tons of military equipment; and persuaded thousands of enemy troops to surrender. For these achievements, Vinh Linh received eight letters of praise from Uncle Ho and was awarded the title "Vinh Linh, the Heroic, Steel Fortress." The Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam praised Gio Linh with four golden words: "Offensives, Uprisings, Heroic, Tenacious." The entire district was awarded one Independence Order 1st Class, two Independence Orders 2nd Class and one "Bulwark of the Fatherland" Order 2nd Class; 26 units and 17 individuals were commended as heroes; and thousands of units and individuals were awarded orders of various types.

The revolutionary tradition of Ben Hai is truly glorious. It is a tradition that has won Ben Hai the trust and admiration of the entire country. However, following the great victory won in the spring of 1975 and in the face of the country's new difficulties, many negative phenomena arose in Ben Hai. The poisons of the decadent culture that existed under the Americans and puppets had had a rather large impact upon the young generation. The thinking that everything be subsidized, the thinking of being a meritorious official, the thinking of being satisfied with one's achievements, of relying upon and waiting for others to act, conservatism and inertia emerged among more than a few cadres and party members. The progress of many units that had distinguished themselves in the fight against the enemy was now being impeded by these kinds of thinking. The movement was at a standstill.

In the face of this situation, the Ben Hai District Party Committee adopted the policy of widely intensifying the teaching of tradition within the party organization, among the people and especially among the youths and teenagers of the entire district. It adopted this policy because it considers teaching revolutionary tradition to be an important part of teaching politics and ideology to cadres, party members and the people, to be a way to build revolutionary will and mobilize the people to overcome each difficulty in order to win victories in the new stage of the revolution.

The Ben Hai culture and information sector, with the guidance and assistance of the Culture and Information Service of Binh Tri Thien Province, launched a movement to take inventory of the historic ruins and revolutionary ruins at each basic unit, draw up tradition maps, write local history and organize the erection of monuments and signs to market historic sites, the sites of victories over the enemy and even the sites of crimes committed by the enemy. On the basis of the inventory and investigation, a date of historic significance was selected on which to hold the annual tradition festival of each unit.

The movement to take inventory of ruins and teach tradition was launched in VinhThuy, a village in the district's key rice growing area. VinhThuy, a place whose revolutionary tradition extends over many generations, was the resistance base of Vinh Linh during the resistance against the French colonialists and was also the place where artillery troops recorded their impressive feat of arms of shooting down six enemy aircraft and capturing many enemy pilots on one day, on 11 November 1966, as a result of which Vinh Thuy received a letter of praise from Uncle Ho and was commended as an "heroic unit" by the party and state. The work of taking inventory of ruins and building upon tradition was placed under the direct guidance of the party committee and village administration, with professional guidance being provided by the culture and information sectors of the province and district. After compiling an accurate inventory, Vinh Thuy drew up a tradition map, organized a tradition display room within the school and campaigned among the people to contribute to the construction of a monument. In 1981, the party organization and People's Council of Vinh Thuy Village chose 11 November as the date of the village's annual tradition festival. Vinh Thuy has continuously maintained its tradition festival since 1981 and has improved and enhanced it in both form and content with each passing year. The tradition festival in Vinh Thuy serves a practical purpose. It helps everyone to review and build upon the tradition of the people of the village. It has been turned into a day for the units within the village to sign pledges to emulate one another; a day to record achievements, record figures on increased product output resulting from higher labor productivity, to put new products of agriculture and the handicraft trades, of units and individuals in the village's tradition hall; and a day to properly reward those units and individuals that have recorded achievements in all fields of activity. As a result, each year, an atmosphere of emulating to record achievements with a view toward the tradition festival inspires everyone to work in a way that makes them worthy of the cause of building and defending the socialist fatherland in the new stage.

To date, on the basis of the experience of Vinh Thuy, nearly one-half of the villages have taken a general inventory of their historic ruins. On this basis, many units have carried out the writing of local history and organized ruins in which items dealing with tradition are on display. Prominent in this respect is the coastal village of Vinh Quang. After building a hatred monument on the hill on which lie the 61 graves of the fellow countrymen who were killed by U.S. bombs on the same day in 1967, the village decided to write nine lessons on local history for incorporation in the program of instruction at the school in order to teach tradition. As a result, Vinh Quang, a village that was once continuously weak, a village that had lost its internal unity, a village whose people lacked confidence, has now gradually made progress. All three of the cooperatives in the village meet and exceed their quotas and obligations on the harvesting of marine products and delivery of products to the state. In 1981, the village party organization was recognized as a pure, solid and strong party organization.

The organizing of tradition festivals has been carried out virtually everywhere within the district. Whereas there are the tradition festivals of the villages of Vinh Thuy, Vinh Lam, Trung Hai...in the key rice growing area, the tradition festivals of the villages of former Vinh Hoang in the red soil



foothills, the tradition festivals of Gio Chau and Gio Son Villages in the southern portion of the district and the tradition festivals of Gio Viet, Trung Giang and Vinh Quang Villages in the coastal area of the district, at agencies and enterprises there are also the festivals of the Ben Hai State Farm, the Lumber Enterprise, the public health sector, the education sector. Every village, agency and enterprise has selected a different date for its festival and conducts its tradition festival in a different way. While Vinh Thuy chose the date on which it recorded its most brilliant feat of arms in the war of resistance against the United States for national salvation as the date of its tradition festival, Vinh Lam selected 6 March (1930), the date on which the village's first party chapter was established, as the date of its festival. Trung Hai, Trung Giang, Gio Chau, Gio Son and other villages chose the date when the people arose in coordinated uprisings along with the revolutionary armed forces to liberate the province as the date of their tradition festivals. Gio Viet Village in the coastal area selected the date on which Uncle Ho visited the fishing villages as the date of its festival to review its tradition and mobilize the masses for the southern fishing season. The enterprises and state farms have set the date of their start-of-the-year conference as the date of their tradition festivals in order to build momentum for beginning the implementation of the state plan. The sectors, such as the education and public health sectors, have selected the dates on which Uncle Ho sent them letters or visited them as the date of their tradition festivals, etc. In this way, the review of tradition and efforts to build upon tradition within each village, sector, agency and enterprise have grown with each passing year, inspiring the different generations of Ben Hai citizens to constantly move forward, correct those attitudes that reflect individualism and overcome the difficulties and shortages that exist in the initial stage of the period of transition to socialism. Negative phenomena in social life have declined to a large degree. Wholesome recreational activities and a cultured style of dress and speech have been developing and emerging more with each passing day. In particular, on the production and construction fronts, many localities and units have recorded record yields and achievements, thereby bringing about very encouraging leaps forward. For example, while Vinh Thuy is well known for being a rice growing area, it failed to produce more than 4 tons per hectare for generations; now, its average rice yield is 6-7 tons per hectare per year and all sectors and trades have been developed. The village has constructed an attractive, two-story cultural center. The district and province are building Vinh Thuy into a unit that has a highly developed cultural life and is a model for the rest of Binh Tri Thien Province. During the past 3 years, Vinh Thach and Vinh Kim have also recorded average rice yields of 9-10 tons per hectare per year, yields unprecedented on Ben Hai's soil. Many retired cadres and party members, including persons who, seeing the difficulties and negative phenomena of society, expressed indifference or turned their backs on the times, have now gone on their own to the local administration and units to request that they be given a job consistent with their health and abilities. Some persons who, in the face of difficulties, asked to quit or retire and did not want to serve as a director or production unit chief have now eagerly and voluntarily joined cooperatives and are working with a truly exemplary spirit of dedication.

Some 40 of the 90 party organizations and subordinate party chapters within the district have been recognized as pure, solid and strong party

organizations and chapters and not one party organization is weak and deficient. The district's culture-information sector and physical culture-sports sector have been the leaders of the province for many continuous years. The public health sector, which ranks 11th nationwide, has been awarded banners for completely finishing the "five projects" and for planned parenthood. In education, Ben Hai is among the province's three best districts. Security and national defense have been maintained well. In military recruiting, the district also leads the province every year, from the standpoint of both the number and quality of recruits. Whereas the state once had to annually provide Vinh Linh alone with tens of tons of rice each year, today, Ben Hai has not only achieved self-sufficiency in grain, but is also fulfilling obligations to the state at the rate of more than 6,000 tons per year and has received praise and awards from the province many years.

In late 1984, clearly aware of the large impact made by the teaching of tradition, the standing committee of the district party committee issued a resolution: beginning in 1985, the entire district will make 30 April--the date of the nation's great victory and also the date on which the partitioning of the banks of the Ben Hai River was permanently brought to an end, the date on which Vinh Linh and Gio Linh were reunited--as the date of the district's annual tradition festival.

The policy of the standing committee was met with enthusiastic response on the part of the entire party organization and all the people of the district. In the space of less than 4 months following the resolution's adoption, hundreds of new projects and products bearing the name 30 April appeared. And, the first tradition festival of the district was held amidst an atmosphere of excitement at the foot of the history Hien Luong flagpole. Whereas 10 years ago, the Hien Luong Bridge was "closed to traffic" due to the partitioning of the country by the Americans and puppets, during Ben Hai's 30 April tradition festival, the bridge was again "closed to traffic," but this time by the presence of more than 50,000 fellow countrymen and comrades. This gathering on the banks of the river was unprecedented in history. Many grandmothers and mothers, even representatives from other provinces and districts who had been invited to the festival, could not hold back their tears of profound joy over seeing tens of thousands of their neighbors and comrades of Ben Hai gathered on either sides of the bridge and river that had witnessed so much suffering, witnessed so many feats of arms by our fellow countrymen and soldiers during the years they stood face to face with enemy forces.

Building upon the intense revolutionary atmosphere that surrounded the tradition festival, the Ben Hai party organization has mobilized the entire party organization and population of the district to make even greater efforts in every aspect of production and work, to continue to heal the wounds of the war, restore and develop the economy and carry out cultural development. From the seacoast to the mountains, from the villages, agricultural cooperatives and small industry and handicraft cooperatives to the agencies, enterprises and worksites, a spirited revolutionary emulation movement has arisen.

It can be said that the teaching of tradition in Ben Hai has created a significant material strength and made an important contribution to helping Ben Hai overcome its immediate difficulties and march steadily forward.

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THE 10TH PRECINCT OF THE 3RD WARD, HO CHI MINH CITY, SOLID AND STRONG IN EVERY RESPECT

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 10, Oct 85 pp 66-72

[Article by Le Minh Vuong]

[Text] Following the total liberation of the South, as was the case with the other subwards of Ho Chi Minh City, the 10th Subward of the 3rd Precinct faced many complex problems that had been left behind by the neo-colonialist regime.

The subward has a population of 10,000, the majority of whom are laboring people who live along the lanes and alleys of the subward and work in the services or as small merchants. Their lives are unstable.

A residential neighborhood, the 10th Subward previously had not one basic production unit of any significance, only hotels, theaters, dance halls, brothels...

Following several years of transformation and construction, the 10th Subward has brought about changes in its socio-economic life and become a subward of Ho Chi Minh City that is solid and strong in every respect.

The 10th Subward has encountered very many difficulties in socialist transformation and socialist construction as a result of being a subward within the city that once was the nerve center of the Americans and puppets.

One problem faced by the subward at the outset was that of very correctly defining its policies, tasks and stages of development in order to be able to meet pressing requirements with the aims of immediately stabilizing the life of the subward's 10,000 residents and gradually developing the subward from a place of decadent fun and amusement into a subward of production and work, a subward with a wholesome cultural life in which order and security are maintained. Meeting these aims has entailed waging a sharp struggle to resolve the question "who triumphs over whom" that exists between socialism and capitalism.

In the spirit of responsibility to the party and masses, the subward party organization has tried to apply the lines and policies of the party in a manner consistent with the subward's special characteristics in order to

continuously launch mass movements, carry out socialist transformation well, stimulate the development of production and encourage the people to successfully meet plan norms.

The 10th Subward adopted as its guideline closely tying transformation to the development of production and gradually providing jobs to unemployed laborers. In keeping with this guideline, the 10th subward conducted a basic investigation to assess the economic-technical situation and survey the labor force and skills available within the subward. The subward decided to organize those sectors and trades and establish those basic production units that it has the ability to organize and establish. To do this, the subward mobilized households that had the necessary capabilities to organize basic production units or help the subward resolve its difficulties with capital, space and machinery. At the very outset, the subward created every possible favorable condition for basic production units to engage in collective production. The subward has helped these basic units request loans from the bank and buildings from the precinct in order to expand their production. It has sponsored these basic units in signing contracts or has directly worked with ordering agencies and organized customer conferences to introduce to them the capabilities of the production units within the subward. In 1983, the subward's credit cooperative mobilized more than 1 million dong in cash (old money) to help basic production units in need of capital procure raw materials. The subward has made flexible use of various forms of organization, from low to high level forms, in order to gradually transform private ownership of the means of production. At present, the cooperative labor teams of the subward have set the prices of means of production and begun gradually paying those persons who have means of production. When these teams become cooperatives, it will not be necessary to resolve difficulties regarding ownership. As a result, the production organization of the subward is stable, cooperatives have retained their leading position and basic production units that do not have the conditions needed to embark on collective production have become satellites of collective units.

At present, the subward has 3 cooperatives, 7 cooperative teams, 12 basic units that work under contracts with the state and 65 basic units that provide repair services. The work of private laborers has been brought within specific economic sectors and product groups. Of the various economic sectors within the subward, the machine sector accounts for 53 percent, the forest products processing sector accounts for 15 percent and the plastics and rubber processing sector accounts for 7.8 percent.

In its management of production, the subward has applied many flexible measures. In addition to scheduled and unscheduled inspections, as are the practice at many other places, the 10th Subward has boldly assigned party members to direct production jobs at basic units and placed loyal activists in key positions, such as accountant, warehouse custodian, cashier, security guard and so forth. At the same time, it has relied upon the labor forces of basic production units, namely, the masses in the neighborhood teams (at places where basic production units are located) to keep track of every development in production, including the consumption of electricity. In this way, the subward manages the products that are produced. In addition, the subward uses the functional agencies of the administration to guide and

inspect compliance with regulations and policies, labor contracts, the distribution of profits and the establishment and use of the various funds at basic production units as well as the use of materials and benefits for persons who work in hazardous environments... On the other hand, the subward has attached very much importance to selecting competent cadres who possess good personal qualities and assigning them the specialized task of observing each type basic production unit. All activities of the mass organizations within basic production units are closely linked to the interests of the laborer. As a result, these activities have had the effects of stimulating efforts to supervise operations, uncover negative phenomena, uphold the right of collective ownership of the laborers at basic production units and stop the theft of property, trading in materials, violations of economic contracts, fraud, tax evasion, collusion and employer-employee relations in the utilization of labor.

Through conferences, the subward has met with basic production units to discuss ways to develop the four different sources of supplies; met with electric power management agencies to rationalize the management of the distribution of electricity to basic production units; and met with the various blocks to expand the subsidiary trades in order to provide work for laborers who are displaced from their jobs when there is a shortage of work at production units. The formulation of production plans from the lower level upward has resulted in the development of plans that are consistent with the subwards capabilities from the standpoint of labor, capital, supplies and raw materials and meet the requirements of the market.

The 10th Subward has given its attention to keeping abreast of and promptly publicizing innovations that result in the improvement of technology or the rationalization of production in order to overcome difficulties and stimulate the development of production. During the past several years, the subward has applied 50 innovations at a savings of tens of millions of dong. The subward has also given its attention to guiding the development of export products, such as wood, ready-made clothing, rubber and so forth, thereby increasing the value of its exports from 184,000 dong in 1976 to 1,283,000 dong in 1984, or roughly 20 percent of the value of the total output of the small industry and handicraft sector.

As a result of adopting a suitable method of operation, the subward has met and exceeded the plan quotas assigned by the precinct each year and stimulated the development of production. The total output of the subward's small industry and handicraft products rose from 200,000 dong in 1976 to 11.07 million dong in 1984 (at fixed 1980 prices). The expansion of the small industry and handicraft sectors and trades within the subward has provided jobs for many unemployed laborers. On the other hand, the subward has also prevailed upon the agencies and enterprises located within the locality to provide jobs for the remaining unemployed, especially youths reaching work age and discharged military personnel. Unemployment dropped from 2,034 persons many years ago to only 74 persons in 1984. Jobs have been provided to 100 percent of discharged military personnel. Youths reaching work age learn a trade at basic production units. Families to whom the policies on families of wounded veterans and war dead apply are provided jobs on a priority basis and their lives are stable.

In the recent past, the distribution and circulation activities of the subward have undergone positive, well coordinated and thorough changes in all areas of transformation and construction, the development of the socialist commerce network and the management of the market, thereby helping to serve the daily needs of the subward's people.

In keeping with the policies of the party and state on transformation, the subward has closed down the businesses of 12 bourgeoisie in commerce and instituted the licensing of businesses and the management of households engaged in trade or the services. The subward has organized small merchants by product sector and arranged for them to buy and sell goods together, buy goods together and sell them separately or work as agents for the state who are paid a commission with the aim of utilizing their skills, capital and available space. At present, the subward has 12 rice agents for the grain sector and 3 meat agents for the consumer cooperative. The subward has adopted stern but fair measures to deal with all speculation and black marketing, the manufacture of shoddy and fake goods and illegal ways of earning a living.

Prominent among the activities of the subward in the field of distribution and circulation have been the positive steps taken to build, strengthen and improve the quality of operation of the consumer cooperative. The subward's consumer cooperative system now consists of 30 sales points, which include 4 block stores, 7 stores at the two alley markets, 3 neighborhood team stores... The subward's network of stores and sales points is efficiently deployed and convenient to shoppers. Its main objective being to serve its customers, the subward's consumer cooperative has adopted as its mode of operation maintaining close contact with basic production units and taking the initiative in controlling sources of local goods, goods traded between localities and goods of small industry and handicraft units once they have delivered the products required under their obligations. At present, cooperative commerce controls the following percentages of agricultural and food products: it buys 40 percent directly from basic production units, buys 25 percent through product trade and buys 31 percent through the various circulation channels. In addition to buying and selling products, the cooperative has also organized the processing of meat, fish, soysauce...into new products. To provide a source of business capital for the cooperative, the subward has sought the assistance of the precinct bank and finance agency, persuaded wealthy households to make interest-free loans to the cooperative, campaigned among the people to buy shares in the cooperative... At present, 100 percent of the households within the subward are cooperative member households. The products of the cooperative are priced 10 to 20 percent below free market prices. The quantity of goods sold to cooperative members has risen from 30 dong in products per household per month in 1976 to 950 dong in 1983 and 1,300 dong in 1984. On holidays and during Tet, the cooperative sells some products to cooperative members, to families of disabled veterans and war dead and to retired cadres at prices that require compensation for losses.

Efforts to transform and wipe out the remnants of the decadent, reactionary culture have been carried out at the same time as efforts to establish revolutionary culture, gradually change the cultural face of society,

establish the new way of life, mold the new, socialist man and thereby meet the requirements involved in supporting the cultural and spiritual lives of the people. Within a major city, social intercourse among residential neighborhoods comes about very easily. Therefore, how to effectively organize cultural life within the subward was a question that had to be worked out in detail. The 10th Subward selected densely populated points along the alleys and lanes of its four blocks as the sites of cultural clusters. At present, each such cultural cluster has an information station and book cabinet, each neighborhood team has a newsletters, etc. Located in the center of the subward is a wired radio station with a loudspeaker network which insures that 85 percent of the subward's population hears three programs per day. In addition, there is one mobile broadcasting team. The subward maintains a daily schedule of programs on special subjects based on news supplied by the network of collaborators within the neighborhood teams. Supporting the subward's propaganda efforts are seven mass literary and art units. These units have taken the initiative in writing and performing their own shows with the aim of building upon their positive aspects and making inroads against corrupt customs among the masses. The activities of the subward's clubs and its physical culture and sport activities have also developed well.

To raise the cultural standards of the people, the subward organized many night classes for illiterate persons and for children of laborers who are unable to attend school during the day. The subward wiped out illiteracy in 1976. All 83 children of the poor laborers within the subward attend night classes. Supplementary education classes were organized by the subward in late 1976 and have been maintained every since.

In addition to the public health facilities of the precinct, the subward has one public health office that provides medical examinations and treatment for the people and organizes the preventive medicine and hygiene movement within the subward. At present, 75 percent of the subward's residents have met the "five requirements." The subward has given very much attention to work among disable veterans and caring for the families of war dead, for retired cadres, manual workers and civil servants in an effective and concrete way. Under the army's rear area policies and in the "give thanks and repay them for their devotion" movement, the people of the subward have built or repaired 11 "affection" apartments worth more than 300,000 dong, given families 15 beds as gifts, opened 25 golden savings account books and deposit in each account from 30 to 50 dong per month to help the families of wounded veterans and war dead. All 48 of the neighborhood teams have organized "compassion rice jars" from which they give each poor family 500 kilograms of rice per year. For each youth who leaves to fulfill his military obligation, the subward sets up a savings account into which the people deposit an average of 50 dong per month.

Maintaining security and social order is the constant concern of the subward. During the very first days following liberation, the 10th Subward conducted a detailed investigative study, classified suspects and took appropriate action against gangs of robbers, prostitution rings and merchandise venders who were actually using their stands to circulate reactionary, pornographic cultural products. On the basis of these results, the subward enacted other plans to maintain security, guard against spies and prevent fires. Under these plans, each block established neighborhood security committees, guard and patrol



sections, fire prevention and fire fighting teams, etc. In the movement to maintain the security of the fatherland, the masses have supplied more than 2,000 pieces of information in recent years, information that has helped the public security forces solve dozens of important cases, solve more than 100 cases involving the theft of state property and break up a clandestine reactionary organization. Robberies and thefts within the subward have declined by 80 to 90 percent and social ills by 95 percent compared to the period immediately following liberation.

The changes that have occurred in the socio-economic life of the 10th Subward in recent years are a reflection of major efforts made by the subward party chapter in leading and guiding the work of building a subward that is solid and strong in every respect.

1. To insure good leadership of every field of work within the subward, the party chapter of the 10th Subward has constantly worked to improve its ability to lead. With the position of the subward level being what it is today, the 10th Subward is not only an administrative management level, but also a level that manages all aspects of politics, the economy, society, security, national defense...and has truly become a level that has its own plan, a plan that is formulated and implemented from the basic units upward. Each day, the subward directly meets the pressing requirements of the masses and carries out the positions and policies of the party and state. To fulfill the functions and tasks of the subward level well, the party chapter of the 10th Subward has had to overcome many difficulties and weaknesses. The weakness of the party chapter of the 10th Subward most deserving of attention is the fact that the majority of its members, including the members of the party chapter committee, have not received systematic training at any school or class, consequently, their standards have been quite limited and they have not been fully capable of managing socio-economic activities well, mobilizing the combined strength of the masses, developing local potentials, developing the economy, carrying out cultural development, organizing the lives of the people or maintaining security and national defense. Over the past several years, the 10th Subward has made every effort to overcome this weakness and has increased the fighting strength of the party chapter, considering this to be the key to each victory.

The foremost concern of the 10th Subward has been the need to achieve a high level of consensus within the party chapter concerning the political views and the lines and policies of the party and state, the assessment of the situation and the guidelines, tasks, targets and stages of development of the subward in each specific stage.

The leadership provided by the party chapter has largely focused on the economic field. The party chapter has devoted many efforts to resolving difficulties arising in small industry and handicraft production due to shortages of raw materials, supplies and electricity; to finding ways to overcome obstacles when numerous changes have occurred on the market and the standard of living of the people has been affected... The strength and leadership ability of the party chapter are manifested in its unity of will and action, in its full adherence to the principle of collective leadership and personal responsibility and in assignment of specific responsibilities and tasks backed by inspection and supervision by the organization. At party

meetings, the subward party chapter regularly draws experience from its implementation of party chapter resolutions and, in this way develops upon correct factors, corrects erroneous views, discovers new factors and raises problems that must be resolved.

With regard to central tasks on which efforts to provide guidance must be focused, the party chapter committee puts competent cadres and party members who are well respected and fully capable of persuading the masses in charge of each specific job that must be performed. During the first years following liberation, when it was necessary to concentrate on transforming and building the small industry and handicraft sector and providing jobs for the unemployed, the party chapter put its secretary personally in charge of guiding this work and withdrew one of the vice chairmen from the subward people's committee and had that person go down and set up a cooperative in the carpentry sector, which was the first sector in which the subward organized collective production. In addition to the task of urging the implementation of each policy of the upper level, the resolutions of the party chapter and the programs and plans of the subward, the party cells on the blocks of the 10th Subward also guide and coordinate the work of the sectors on the block and turn the determination of the party chapter into the determination of the masses. Through this mode of operation, the party cell has managed party members well in the performance of the political tasks of the party and has maintained close ties between the party and the masses on the blocks and within the neighborhood teams.

In addition to teaching politics and ideology, the party chapter of the 10th Subward has trained party members and improved their quality through the practical work they have performed. Periodically, the party chapter arranges for party members to criticize themselves in the presence of the neighborhood teams and personally listen to constructive opinions offered by the people. Boldly assigning jobs, responsibilities and authority to cadres and party members and then providing them with guidance and supervision and inspecting what they do are also one of the approaches taken by the 10th Subward to improve the quality of party members. At first, the party chapter of the 10th Subward had only seven members. Today, it has 41 members, many of whom have matured and a number of whom have become key leadership cadres of the subward or gone on to work on the precinct level. All members of the party committee and the standing committee of the people's committee and all sector heads in the subward had experience in very many tasks, from work with mass organizations to research and analysis and administrative work, before becoming management cadres. As a result of taking this approach, the subward's corps of cadres and party members are close to the basic units, close to the masses, have gained knowledge and experience in organizing mass movements, have grown and taken the initiative in leading and guiding movements. The party chapter of the 10th Subward has formulated cadre planning. During the past several years, despite the fact that the precinct party committee transferred a number of the core cadres of the subward to the precinct level, all movements within the subward have been maintained as a result of successor and reserve cadres and party members undertaking the tasks of those who have been transferred.

Accepting new persons into the party and expelling unqualified members from the party are also measures to which the party chapter has attached importance with the aims of improving the quality of party members and increasing the fighting strength of the party chapter.

2. In the process of building a subward that is solid and strong in every respect, the 10th Subward has gradually grown and, in this growth, the right of collective ownership of the laboring people has been upheld more with each passing day.

As a residential area of a major city, the 10th Subward has encountered many complex difficulties in the process of carrying out transformation and construction, developing production, organizing the material and spiritual lives of the people, building the new system and molding the new, socialist man.

To resolve these difficulties, the 10th Subward has closely adhered to the lines and policies of the party and turned them into guidelines, targets and plans for socio-economic development that have been consistent with the subward's actual situation. On the other hand, it has tapped the combined strength of the masses in order to develop the locality's existing potentials.

In the face of common difficulties, each basic production unit has tapped the intelligence of its collective and taken the initiative in overcoming difficulties and stepping up production. The 10th Subward, promptly learning from its experience, adopted measures designed to gradually develop the four different sources of supplies, sought new contracts and expanded the satellites working under contracts for cooperatives. During the first 9 months of 1983, the 10th Subward completed only 43 percent of its plan for the entire year. However, once the subward had learned how to utilize the four different sources of supplies, it completed 70 percent of its plan during the 4th quarter of 1983 and, as a result, met and exceeded its plan quotas for the entire year and collective production units had raw materials with which to start 1984.

In the life of the people of the subward, there are many pressing problems that only the subward is able to resolve. To be performed in a thorough and effective way, it is necessary to rely upon the basic units, upon the people for every job, from the repair of sewer drains and the maintenance of lighting along alleys and lanes to the construction of cultural and social projects, from caring for the health of the people, caring for the families of wounded veterans, war dead, families who have contributed to the revolution and retired cadres to maintaining peace and quiet so that the people can sleep at night, maintaining social order and safety, insuring that those persons who leave to fulfill their military obligation serve with peace of mind, providing jobs to those persons who return to the subward upon the completion of their military obligation...

Under the guideline "the state and the people working together," the 10th Subward has mobilized the forces of the residents of the subward to resolve many problems that the laboring people once could never even think of resolving. Whereas the subward once lacked schools and classes and many of

its children were unable to attend school, all children of school age are now issued books and attend school either during the day or at night; children of child care center and kindergarten age have child care centers and kindergartens to attend; all blocks have places to which the people can go for cultural activities; life along the alleys and lanes and in the neighborhoods of the subward has been organized in the new way. No longer is there mud everywhere, no longer is there a lack of lighting, etc. All of these improvements have been made through efforts contributed by the people.

The mass organizations play a very important role in the activities of the subward. The Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union organization of the 10th Subward has drawn 90 percent of the subward's youths into economic and social activities and is the leading force in the activities of the subward. The Women's Union conducts practical activities with the aim of helping women organize their family lives, organizes trade training and concerns itself with social work. The subward's Fatherland Front organization has made positive contributions to the activities of the subward.

As a subward that has a population of 10,000 persons in 48 neighborhood teams, the activities of the subward must be very flexible. The 10th Subward has assigned cadres and party members to go down and conduct activities in the four blocks. In addition, a network of core cadres has also formed within the 10th Subward, cadres who have grown and matured at basic units and participate in the management of economic and social life within each neighborhood team. During the past several years, through this method of operation, the 10th Subward has been able to maintain close contact with the people and promptly resolve problems related to their production and everyday lives.

To build upon the right of collective ownership of the laboring people, the 10th Subward has continuously launched emulation movements with the aims of implementing the yearly state plan and building a subward that is solid and strong in every respect. It has done this in such ways as organizing the signing of emulation pledges among the production sections of a cooperative, among the neighborhood teams of a block and among the blocks of the subward. The 10th Subward has also taken the initiative in entering into emulation pledges with other subwards in the precinct. On the occasion of tradition days, the subward also launches individual emulation drives to maintain and develop the movement in depth. To date, through the reporting and evaluation of achievements over the past 10 years, 907 households within the 10th Subward (50 percent of the subward's households) have been praised or given awards and of the subward's 48 neighborhood teams, 10 have been progressive teams on the municipal level, 20 have been progressive teams on the precinct level and 18 have been progressive teams on the subward level. There are no average or weak and deficient teams. The 10th Subward has been awarded Labor Orders, from 3rd to 1st class, by the state 3 years in a row. In the field of security, the 10th Subward has built one "determined to win" block, one

advanced block and two safe blocks and 47 of its 48 neighborhood teams are safe neighborhood teams. The subward public security force and the subward military unit have been recognized by the city as "determined to win" units and presented with bouquets of flowers by the president for many years in a row.

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THE STRENGTH OF IDEOLOGY AND ART IN THE 'STORIES AND BIOGRAPHIES' OF PRESIDENT HO CHI MINH

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[Article by Lu Huy Nguyen]

[Text] The stories and biographies written by President Ho Chi Minh in the 1920's marked the emergence of socialist realism in Vietnamese literature.

Many research projects have been conducted on these exceedingly valuable books that opened the way for the new literature of the Vietnamese proletariat. "Stories and Biographies" reflect both a period of history and a soul. It was an interesting, intense period of history, a period pregnant with enormous changes. It was an even more interesting soul, a soul that embodied the essence, the sap of life of this period, a soul afire with the thoughts and feelings that were in the process of being the *raison d'etre* of today."<sup>(1)</sup> This was the observation made by Professor Pham Huy Thong concerning the book "Stories and Biographies" of Nguyen Ai Quoc (Literary Publishing House, Hanoi, 1974), which consists of six articles written by him between 1922 and 1925.

"Stories and Biographies" of Nguyen Ai Quoc, which were written during the first half of the 1920's and are the works of an unbending, incisive militant writer, give us an even deeper appreciation of the close relationship between his great talent as an artist and his cause of revolutionary struggle. These works "were as scathing as a flame thrower"(the words of Japanese Professor Singosinbata) fired at the heads of the colonialists and exposed the barbarous, heinous crimes committed by them and their lackeys in the colonies, from Varen ("Absurd Games, or Varen and Phan Boi Chau") and Bruyere ("The Man Who Smelled Smoke") to Khai Dinh ("The Lament of Mrs. Trung Trac," "Travelling Incognito"). By denouncing the crimes of the rulers, the author sought to gauge their reaction to the sharp struggle of great numbers of peoples "arising and demanding their rights, demanding justice and freedom!"(p 29)(+) following the pinnacle that was the great October Revolution.

Although afire with hatred when denouncing the crimes of the invaders, his pen was also very earnest, very lyrical when praising the patriotic spirit of the people, national heroes and patriots, from a Trung Trac, a Phan Boi Chau and a king named Hau Tran, who actually existed in history, to a white haired old man named Kimengo who was as big as life itself. The pen reflected the man--a man who possessed both fervent love and deep hatred, a man who was the perfect

combination of the nation's traditional spirit of patriotism and the proletarian international spirit of our times, a man who struggled throughout his life for the revolutionary cause of the nation and progressive mankind.

This printing of selected works of President Ho Chi Minh entitled "Stories and Biographies" presents all 28 articles and excerpts, 15 of which were written by the author in French.

Together with the 16 articles published during the original printing, the additional stories and biographies of the 1920's published in this printing continue to expose and denounce the crimes of the French colonialists ("Zoology," "On the Wild Kingdom," "French Colonialization on Trial" ((excerpts))...) and their lackeys who had betrayed the country ("Special Preferences"). But the author did not stop at denouncing French colonialism. Even during the early years of this century, he exposed the "new style" brutal nature of U.S. imperialism. "Lynching, a Little Known Aspect of American Civilization," a stern indictment that inflamed passions, as well as the works mentioned above was a most fervent, and also most eloquent appeal to the oppressed peoples to arise in struggle, was a clarion call awakening progressive mankind.

The picture of an entire period of struggle against a common enemy, the colonialists, imperialists and their lackeys, has been made broader and clearer. We also see before us a clearer image of Uncle Ho during the early days of his search for the path to national salvation; see a heart ardently devoted to the fatherland and the people, to all persons in suffering, regardless of the color of their skin; see a keen and profound intellect; see a man of abundant skill.

"Paris"--a first-hand short story by Uncle Ho--is a typical example. It is the story of the life of unhappiness and misfortune of the workers in a small subdivision of Paris, where "when they were children, they went to school to learn to respect the sacred rights of employers. When they grow up and become workers, they leave the school to produce wealth for the masters whose power they learned to revere. When they become old and frail, the masters whom they made wealthy throw them out onto the street to live the rest of their lives on charity or fend for themselves!"(p 11). Imperialist wars complete the rest of the work of the "noble task" of equality and fraternity for which capitalism prepared the way: robbing them of their only source of hope, their families and children. Denouncing the cruel wars of the imperialist countries through an old man's life of suffering and pain, the author delved directly into the nature and looked for the causes of the criminal wars of the powerful capitalists in their battles against one another for interests, wars unleashed by generals to "satisfy their greed and arrogance"(p 8). The story goes beyond the framework of a life of misfortune and focuses the reader's attention on the class barriers, on the general problems of French society during the years following World War I.

Here, the author at times independently and calmly analyzes each condition in life, each phenomenon in detail, at times sharply ridicules and strongly mocks the ruling class and, at other times, expresses very deep sympathy for the fate of those living in poverty and misery. The short story "Paris" evokes

deep feelings and helps readers see the criminal way that colonialism and imperialism treated the laboring people, even readers who were citizens of the "mother country." He fervently appealed to the proletariat in both the "mother country" and the colonies to arise together in the struggle against the common enemy.

President Ho's sharply militant pen was particularly evident in the short story "The Colonial Academy"(1923). Even the story's title reflects bitter irony and strong criticism. An academy, as we know it, is the highest scientific body of a country, is the place where the most famous scientists and highly talented academicians work together researching and discovering scientific advances that serve to benefit mankind. This, however, is not an academy of...science, but an academy of...colonial studies specializing in researching and inventing the most effective methods and schemes for plundering the colonies. As the story begins, the character Sareau is presented by the author as someone with a habit of speech that one finds hard to forget. Whenever he had to make the sound "k" he repeated it twice. Because of this habit, his words sometimes had a double meaning, which revealed to the listener or reader a hidden, derisive intention on the part of the author, hidden but fatally effective. For example, Saurra pronounced the word academy as a-caca-demy and we know what "caca" means in French. In this story, we very frequently see the author employ this kind of play on words. Here, the focus is on governor of Indochina Albert Sarraut (who later became the French Minister of Colonies)--the great helmsman of the only ship in the Indochina flotilla presiding over the autopsy on the corpse that died in the war to behead the people of the colonies. Only through a short story such as this can the true nature of colonialism be seen. We also gain an appreciation of the author's "veiled and fascinating"(as observed by Pham Van Dong) style of satire, a style that was compatible with his optimism and love of life, with the sense of humor of the French. This style of writing was one of the best ways to win sympathy, to attract and persuade readers who, at that point in the 1920's, were mainly French readers.

In contrast to the articles written in French during the preceding period, the stories and biographies that President Ho Chi Minh wrote during the 1940's and throughout the war of resistance against France were written in Vietnamese, were easily understood, easily remembered and compatible with the standards of the broad laboring masses. His works, which focused on the revolutionary armed forces and were practical, valuable lessons and experiences, were songs in praise of patriotism, were a tremendous source of inspiration and encouragement to our people, had the aims of quickly bringing our revolution, our war of resistance to victory.

After returning home (1941), President Ho compiled a number of important documents on guerrilla tactics, of special importance among which was his book "Guerrilla Fighting." Later, he wrote "Guerrilla Fighting Is Similar To Playing Chess" and the biography "French Guerrilla Experience." These two works were similar in format in that both consisted of concise, vivid short narratives that reflected a style of writing that was eloquent but condensed and supplied a large volume of information. Readers were drawn to these works not only by their straight-forward, explicit approach, but also by the newness of the details presented and the unique "today in the East, tomorrow in the



West; now here, now there" nature of guerrilla tactics. Each narrative is an account of a specific guerrilla battle and presents the tactics and resourcefulness of guerrilla fighters. Every courageous and determined patriot can engage in guerrilla warfare. The author pointed out: "Guerrilla warfare does not require strength... Men and women, the young and old alike, be they armed or unarmed, can be guerrilla fighters provided that they are patriotic, refuse to be slaves and possess some measure of courage and resourcefulness"(p 108). Pervading these works are the images of heroic guerrillas of different races and regions of the world, are priceless experiences presented with the aim of giving impetus to our country's guerrilla movement.

The image of the army soldier also emerged at an early date in the poetry and prose of President Ho. In the biographic genre, we meet, at a very early date, a typical social model--the soldier Nong Van Minh ("The 10 Year Sleep"--1949). Through the ordinary but very typical life of a soldier of the national defense army from a poor peasant family who was given a new life by the revolution and made contributions to the revolutionary movement, through the examples set in combat by this soldier, the author explained the reasons that would lead to the victory of our armed forces and people in the war of resistance against France. "The 10 Year Sleep" answered the questions of how to express the losses and suffering experienced in the war, where the strength of hatred lies and how to make the aggressors pay for their crimes. "It is better to fight them in the West than to die as a result of abuse at their hands," this was the thinking that was deeply etched in the hearts of readers. The entire story exuded the spirit of determination to fight and win of our armed forces and people, exuded confidence in ultimate victory, in the nation's bright future. Here was a confidence, a dream based on predictions drawn from the realities of the anti-French resistance movement. The 10 years of Nong Van Minh's sleep were 10 years during which the country witnessed many changes, 10 years during which the members of his unit fought and won victory over the enemy on all fronts and turned their hands to peace time construction.

On reading the biographies and combat narratives that were written by President Ho Chi Minh during the exceedingly difficult and heroic years and months of the resistance, we frequently encounter the image of Uncle Ho's troops, encounter models of heroic individuals and units within the people's armed forces. The majority of these biographies were written in a unique and creative form: prose intermixed with poetry (such as "The Communications Heroine"), a form characteristic of the biographies he wrote during that period. His biographies dealt with the theme of the armed forces supporting uprisings and the sacred, great people's war. He was one of the first authors to take this theme in modern Vietnamese revolutionary prose.

The biographical articles written by President Ho during the 1950's and in later years make up a considerable portion of this publication of selected works. Many of his writings in the diary and memoir genre help us to gain a deeper understanding of many aspects of his life and revolutionary career. They were true accounts but different and interesting, like accounts of important milestones in his life, written by the author during his days of revolutionary activity in Thailand ("Fictitious but Real"), in France, the

Soviet Union and China and during the resistance against the French colonialists, especially during the days he spent personally directing the border campaign and keeping closely abreast of developments on this "nothing less than victory" front ("A Conversation During a Stroll"). In these works, he continued to expose the cruelty of all enemies, from the French colonialists, the British imperialists and the German, Italian and Japanese fascists to the Chinese reactionaries. At the same time, he especially concerned himself with the strength of the people in patriotic wars. He told about the Soviet Union during the years and months it worked to overcome its difficulties and build socialism as well as during the resistance against the fascists. He wanted to present experiences and lessons to which our people could relate in the resistance against France.

Through 23 diary entries encompassing more than 70 pages ("The Fraternal Affection Among Vietnam, India and Burma"), entries rich in literary substance, filled with valuable information and overflowing with emotion, we also accompany him as he travelled to India and Burma.

In addition to memoirs, there is a series of articles denouncing U.S. imperialism. Following the famous article in 1924 ("Lynching...") are political commentaries and short stories, such as "President Johnson and the Assassination of Senator Kennedy" and "The U.S. Imperialists, Pitiful and Frustrated," that reflect the same satirical character of the articles printed in French newspapers during the early years of the century. Especially unique is the article entitled "U.S. Spies," which was written during the concluding stage of the resistance against France. The U.S. imperialists had thrust their filthy interventionist hands into the war through a variety of cunning schemes. Through factual information--pages from enemy journals--the author exposed the treachery and provocative schemes of the U.S. imperialists against the Soviet Union and other progressive peace forces with the aim of heightening the spirit of vigilance of all the people.

This most recently published version of selected works of President Ho entitled "Stories and Biographies" represents the fullest collection of his stories and biographies to date and is a long stride forward in compiling materials to assist scholars and readers in acquiring a new and broader understanding and perspective concerning President Ho's works of literature and art--the effective weapons he employed in his great revolutionary career. To him, the purpose of literary and artistic creativity was to wage the political struggle, to convey to readers worthwhile ideas through beautiful words and do so very effectively and with strong emotion. Because such was his purpose, because he held this attitude of respect for readers, all of his writings, be they in French or Vietnamese, are simple and to the point but very vivid, very diverse and win acceptance. The reader was one of the foremost concerns to him when employing his literary art.

When writing for Western readers, the pen of President Ho was sharp and pointed. When writing for the broad masses, his pen was especially simple and rich in the style of folk writing. Much of what he wrote reflected the character of the new narrative, an improved version of the East Asian style of narrative.

Because he knew the special characteristics of each segment of his reading public and used this knowledge to employ a specific style of writing, a specific style of narration, a specific format for each, he placed his works of literature and art deep within the mainstream of the consciousness and sentiments of the broad strata of readers, both at home and abroad.

"Stories and Biographies" of President Ho Chi Minh, a work that represents the voice of the times, the voice of a great soul and a work of special value from many different perspectives, is appearing before readers on the very day that we celebrate the 95th anniversary of the birth of President Ho, thus making this a major literary event in the historic year 1985.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. "Nghien cuu hoc tap tho van Ho Chi Minh"[Researching and Studying the Poetry and Prose of President Ho], Social Sciences Publishing House, Hanoi, 1979, p 83.
- + Passages within quotation marks followed by page numbers are excerpts from "Stories and Biographies" of President Ho Chi Minh, Literary Publishing House, Hanoi, 1985.
2. Pham Huy Thong: book quoted, p 87.

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CSO: 4210/3

## A VITAL SYSTEM OF THEATRICAL ART THAT BREATHES THE BREATH OF OUR TIMES

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 10, Oct 85 pp 78-82

[Article by Duong Ngoc Duc]

[Text] Our theatrical art, which was born and grew up in the tumult of the revolutionary struggle led by the Communist Party of Vietnam, is now a full 40 years of age. The August Revolution liberated theatrical art and turned it into the professional art of a modern and national nature that it is today.

During the past 40 years, theatrical art has focused on the realities of the nation's heroic and glorious revolution in order to both reflect and support it. At the same time, theatrical art has recorded enormous achievements.

Immediately after the 1945 August Revolution and during the early years of the resistance against France, theatrical art made steady strides and promptly supported the tasks of the revolution. Many plays that seethed with revolutionary spirit and resounded with the melody of the times were written. In the play "Bac Son," for the first time in the history of our country's theatrical art, ordinary laborers were depicted as the masters of their lives and the fighter for communism emerged as the central character. With that, revolutionary theatrical art was publicly established and began supporting the nation's long war of resistance. The performances of professional theatrical art during this period generally focused on two major themes: depicting the life of our compatriots and soldiers in the zone occupied by the enemy, a life that was marked by bitter fighting and suffering but also by extreme bravery and the theme of agrarian reform, which reflected the intense spirit of the people's democratic revolution carried out in the rural areas during the resistance.

As a result of being very closely tied to the revolutionary realities of the nation, our theatrical art has always responded, always promptly met the requirements of agitation and propaganda efforts and brought reality to the stage. Gradually, the vital, contemporary nature, the sharply militant nature of our theatrical art became a tradition. This was even more clearly evident during the period of the nation's brilliant resistance against the United States for national salvation. Artists, actors and playwrights travelled to the frontlines, to the battlefields and all the way to trenches and artillery positions to serve our fellow countrymen and soldiers. Numerous plays were

written in combat trenches and at battle positions. Many artists were captured by the enemy or bravely died on the battlefield. Chu Nghi, an army playwright, bravely sacrificed his life on the Route 9-Khe Sanh battlefield as the final lines of dialogue of the play "Beside the Ta Con Fence" were being written. Nguyen Vu, an artist and soldier, spent his entire life writing about the struggle to liberate the South and reunify the country. And, many authors lived and died on the frontlines of Quang Binh and Vinh Linh, deep within Quang Tri or along the Ho Chi Minh Trail. Hundreds of plays were given life during the days of the resistance against the United States for national salvation. Many were very moving and left memorable impressions upon their audiences. By focusing on the heroic realities of the nation, our theatrical art rapidly matured and promptly met the needs of the revolution. At the same time, it created the genuine attraction that is the attraction of our theatrical art. What theatrical art says to its audience, which issues theatrical art raises concerning life, these are the things with which the audience is concerned, the things that they watch and expect. Through theatrical art, audiences have come to love the revolution, love life more.

The realities of the past several decades of building and developing our theatrical art show that only when theatrical art focuses on the life of the laboring people and keeps abreast of the strong development of the revolutionary struggle can it develop in a way that is wholesome and record noteworthy achievements. This has been shown very clearly in the several phases of the 1985 Theatrical Festival. Theatrical art has undergone inspiring changes. These changes clearly stem from life itself, from theatrical art delving into life in order to "learn-discover-create" and produce works that educate, transform and build. Encouraging and praiseworthy is the fact that at the recent theatrical festivals, as many as 80 percent of the plays presented dealt with modern themes that reflect and explain many of the issues of life today.

One significant contribution made by our theatrical art over the past several decades has been the constant efforts made to mold the image of the new man, of the progressive forces of the new society. In every stage of the revolution, new persons have emerged who embody all that is involved in transforming and building the new life. Theatrical art has promptly seized upon, reflected and constructed highly convincing and persuasive artistic images. From the communist fighters engaged in clandestine operations and leading the masses to the soldiers of the national defense force, Uncle Ho's troops and the liberation soldiers in the two wars of resistance, from peasants and manual workers to socialist intellectuals, from small children to women and the elderly...all have been vividly depicted. Many images of the new man have combined the factors of independence, freedom and socialism in a way that is well balanced. The new socialist men and women in the fight to defend the fatherland, especially in the resistance against the United States for national salvation, as portrayed in many plays were very educational and inspirational in their impact. In the new stage of development of our theatrical arts that has been underway for several years, especially in 1985, many images of the new man and woman, of the new life have also been constructed. The image of Uncle Ho, the new person symbolic of our times, was first presented as the rather successful central character in the play "History and the Eyewitness." The success of this play together with "The

Song of Dien Bien" and "We'll Meet Again When We Return" have proven that our theatrical art has matured and can meet important requirements, can undertake the large tasks expected of it by the nation, the country and the mass of viewers.

The development of our theatrical art has also been well balanced among the various genre of art. Along with dramatic works, which have been a leading edge in reflecting the new life and the new man, the other genre, such as popular opera, reform theater, puppetry, Hue-Tri Thien musical theater, Nghe Tinh folk musicals, Viet Bac mountain musicals..., have also raised their voices and made noteworthy contributions in building our socialist, national theatrical art. Our party's correct line on culture, literature and art has not only removed the dust of time from the fine attributes of our national theatrical art, but has also enhanced them with each passing day. During the past 40 years, national theater and opera have kept alive their vitality of 4,000 years and, today, this vitality is fresher and even more robust.

We have given attention to collecting, selecting and restoring the old in conjunction with modifying and transforming the old and to creating the new. We have maintained the essence of the old while developing the new in a way compatible with the present. As a result, national opera remains a part of life today and still breathes the breath of the times. Many classical and popular operas have rather successfully reflected the new reality of the revolution. In the spirit of "re-examining everything," we have made efforts to build upon the fine attributes of traditional theatrical art in order to make it compatible with the new life and give it new contents, a new form, a new rhythm, color and sound.

Our work in the fields of theoretical art research, theory and criticism has also developed and recorded initial achievements. As seen in many projects on classical opera, modern opera and reform theater, many achievements have been recorded in collecting, modifying, adapting and restoring the old. These projects have helped to bring about an increasingly correct understanding of and shed additional light on national opera. In addition to gaining an understanding of and introducing the very best of the theatrical art of foreign countries, efforts in the fields of theory and criticism have made important contributions to discovering problems in our country's theatrical art, to guiding theater goers, to correcting mistakes in theatrical art...

The above are the basic achievements of our theatrical art over the past 40 years--the achievements of a system of theatrical art that is part of the fabric of life, that has voluntarily fought for, voluntarily served as agitator and propagandist for the political tasks of the party, of the revolution, that is guided by the fundamental principles of the party's correct and creative line on culture, literature and art. However, looking back on the period behind us, we see that our theatrical art still has certain weaknesses, even some serious shortcomings. They are the brevity, use of formulas, dryness and monotony seen in some timely works. They are the absence of subtlety and thoroughness when portraying the new man and woman. And, most deserving of attention is the fact that since 1975, some persons engaged in theatrical art have at times expressed confusion, strayed from guidelines and not firmly adhered to the fundamental principles set forth in

the party's line on culture, literature and art. Some plays are in some respects divorced from the antagonisms and major issues of life, focus on trivialities, on petty personal relations and are not of profound social value. Some plays lean toward describing personal worries and concerns more than worries and concerns regarding the major issues of society, lean more toward throwing off the burden of yesterday than cultivating lofty feelings and confidence in the future. Confusion, straying from guidelines and not firmly adhering to the fundamental principles set forth in the party's line on culture, literature and art are also evident in the desire to place art's function of entertainment above its other functions and in allowing commercial art to adversely influence the theatrical art of the entire country and, at some times and places, even push revolutionary art into the background.

It must be stated that the main flow of theatrical art in recent years has been wholesome and properly oriented. However, if theatrical art is to grow and become stronger, light attention cannot be given to the movement's shortcomings and mistakes.

The new period of the revolution faces theatrical art with very many questions and demands that it help find answers to these questions.

Aspects of theatrical art have recently been flourishing. This is a result of the closeness to life, of the realism of our theatrical art. It is the result of promptly responding and supporting our nation's two strategic tasks: successfully building socialism and firmly defending the socialist fatherland. It is the result of the process of creative labor carried out by artists to discover a new voice, a new look, a new attraction for theatrical art. Becoming part of life in order to discover and create, this is also the law of development of theatrical art. But "to understand the new reality, we must adopt correct viewpoints, must possess the necessary knowledge. If we do not equip ourselves with scientific viewpoints and thinking concerning the revolutionary cause and the realities of life, we will lose sight of our guidelines, become confused and might even make mistakes." (1) Therefore, the issue of foremost importance to those engaged in theatrical art today is the need to firmly adhere to the views and line of the party on literature and art and be determined to eradicate everything that reflects remoteness from life, from reality, from the masses. Works of theatrical art that are of value and meet the requirements of the revolution and the mass of theater goers cannot be developed by pursuing things that are strange, pursuing ordinary artistic attractions and tastes or pursuing the allure of money.

We are opposed to looking for attractions that are ordinary and cheap but this does not mean that we ignore the genuine attraction of theatrical art. One burning, pressing issue is the need to give theatrical art genuine attraction so that it draws and educates theater goers. To accomplish this, it is important that theatrical art reflect and explain the questions being faced in the lives of laborers and do so in ways that are new and compatible. Some recent plays have won high praise from audiences because they reflect issues in life today and a balance between content and form. Many plays that have been in performance for months are still drawing large audiences. Generally speaking, the vast majority of our theater goers today are progressive, educated revolutionary masses who are fully capable of appreciating and

evaluating a performance. Consequently, the main problem we face now is improving the quality of theatrical art.

Our theatrical art is being professionalized and refined. Consequently, it is very necessary to establish minimum material conditions, such as theaters and theatrical equipment, beginning with theaters, in order to achieve our objectives. Without these minimum material conditions, artists cannot explore possibilities, experiment, create or fully display their capabilities and strengths. Without these minimum material conditions, it is impossible to talk about cultivating different theatrical styles within our socialist system of theatrical art.

Our work in the field of theatrical art research, theory and criticism, which is an important field, must also be strengthened and better organized. These activities must become truly scientific activities, become the science of theatrical art. The corps of persons engaged in this work must be trained and thoroughly organized so that they can successfully undertake the very important and delicate task of theatrical art. The militancy of criticism must be heightened, especially "combat alert criticism." Only in this way can criticism be useful and help to mold public opinion and stimulate the constant development of our theatrical art.

Never before have we had as large a corps of persons engaged in theatrical art as we do today. This corps consists of many forces and generations that have experienced the challenges of the revolution and made valuable contributions. However, in view of the new requirements of the revolution, this corps must be trained and augmented with writers, producers, actors, painters and musicians as well as researchers, theoreticians, critics, etc. Attention must first be given to cultivating the philosophy of life, the world view and the way of life of young people as well as their cultural and occupational standards. At the same time, policies must be adopted that encourage, support, inspire and create the conditions for them to perform their noble task well.

Before us lie many difficulties and complex problems. However, it is clear that our theatrical art has never enjoyed such favorable conditions as today. By building upon the nearly one-half century of traditions of theatrical art and linking it even more closely to the revolutionary life of our people, we will surely be able to create works of theatrical art that are worthy of the nation of Vietnam in the age of President Ho Chi Minh.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Pham Van Dong-To Huu: "Su nghiep van nghe va su mang cua nguoi nghe si" [Literature and Art and the Mission of the Artist], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1984, p 63.

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CSO: 4210/3



## BUILDING AND DEVELOPING A NATIONAL AND SOCIALIST SYSTEM OF CINEMATOGRAPHY

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 10, Oct 85 pp 83-87

[Article by Ly Thai Bao]

[Text] On 15 March 1953, in the Viet Bac combat zone, President Ho signed the decree establishing the Vietnam National Motion Picture and Photography Enterprise. Vietnam's cinematography sector was officially born on that day.

It can be said that we began the work of building and developing the Vietnamese national cinematography sector with nothing more than our bare hands because, the old social system had left us with a material-technical base that consisted of nothing but several small movie houses in Hanoi and a number of provinces and municipalities. During the years of the resistance against the French colonialists, the cinematography forces of the Vietnamese revolution were still very small because we had to fight the enemy while producing films and building the sector.

The first years of peace following the complete liberation of the North, especially from 1959 to 1965, were truly a period of strong development in all areas of Vietnam's cinematography sector: from the construction of material-technical bases to the training of cadres, the production of all types of films, increased exportation and importation of films, the construction and development of the network of movie houses... The role of cinematography in social life today had not become truly large. Vietnam's first feature film, "All the Same River," which was first shown on 20 August 1959 on the occasion of the 4th anniversary of the end of the resistance against France and the start of the struggle to reunify the country, moved audiences. This was followed by the short feature film "The Kinglet," which praised the quiet but noble beauty of Vietnamese girls. Although this film dealt with sacrifices and losses, it still generated a spirit of revolutionary optimism among viewers. The documentary "Water To Northern Hung Hai" and the first animated film, "The Sly Fox Gets What He Deserves," were also applauded by viewers. The very modest achievements recorded during those early days won the praise of public opinion throughout the country. A number of places in the world also expressed admiration for Vietnam's young but profoundly national cinematography and confidence in its future. These can be considered the splendid beginnings of our national and revolutionary cinematography.

During the years that the U.S. imperialists intensified their war of aggression in the South and widened the war of destruction against the North, our cinematography sector continued its strong development. More and more films of all types were produced each year. They virtually exuded the smell of gunpowder on all battlefields that fought and won victory over the United States. Many of the films produced during those 10 years were of high value from the standpoint of ideology and art and have become significant spiritual values of our people.

The documentaries "The Most Dangerous Position," "Cu Chi Guerrillas," "Vinh Linh, Steel Fortress," "The Road to the Front," "Road Surface Battle Position, Tay Ninh's Victory," "The Route 9-Southern Laos Victory," "The People of Ham Rong," "Opening the Truong Son Road," Hanoi--Song of Heroes"... like epics, inspired strong determination in our people to fight and win victory over the U.S. aggressors and made important contributions to giving the world a detailed picture of the brave fight being waged by us and the barbarous crimes being committed by the U.S. imperialists.

Feature films also focused on the themes of defending the fatherland and struggling to liberate the South. The films "On the 17th Parallel," "The Young Soldier," "Raising the Wind," "Nguyen Van Troi," "Miss Tu Hau," "The Road to Mother's," "Battle Song," "The 17th Parallel--Night and Day," and so forth, although they achieved varying degrees of success, appeared at the right time and stirred emotions because, from the model images of their characters emanated the beauty of the qualities of the Vietnamese in their noble cause. On the other hand, feature films continued to focus on production tasks and successfully developed social themes: "The Frontlines Call," "The One Who Returned to the Rush Field," "The Story of Mr. and Mrs. Luc," and "We'll Meet Again When We Get Up There."

As regards animated films, we simultaneously developed all three modes of expression (animated drawings, puppetry and paper stencils), tried to use the special features of the genre to address many themes, including the resistance against the United States, produced color films and raised animated films to new levels of development. The films "The Song on the Mountain Wall," "The Star That Spoke," "The Monkey in the Wrong Species," "The Kitten," "Mr. Giong," "Mountain God-Water God" and others very clearly reflected the growth of animated films.

Scientific films supported production and quickly shifted their focus to supporting combat. The films "Shooting Down Aircraft With Infantry Rifles," "Combating Pellet Bombs" and others laid a practical role in publicizing experiences gained in fighting the enemy and protecting hamlets and villages.

Film makers will forever remember the historic days in the spring of 1975 when the entire cinematography sector went into battle to capture in their lenses an unequalled event in the history of our people's national liberation struggle. Scores of news and documentary films recorded, in rather thorough detail, the general offensive and uprising to totally liberate the South, from Quang Tri, Hue and Da Nang, to Quy Nhon, Nha Trang, Saigon, Con Dao... The

film "The City at Dawn" was typical of the works on the first days of Saigon following the strategic victory of the Vietnamese revolution and the total defeat of U.S. neo-colonialism.

The cinematography sector has the right to be proud of having made a noteworthy contribution to making "the literature and art of our country worthy of being in the vanguard of the anti-imperialist literature and art of our age."(1)

The reunification of the fatherland opened a new chapter in our history. A national and socialist cinematography sector has been built and developed throughout the country and has recorded rather high achievements, both from the standpoint of the number of films produced and the quality of films. During the 10 years from 1975 to 1985, the film studios of the country produced 140 feature films, whereas it produced only 50 during the preceding 10 years (1965-1975). The production of documentary and scientific films and animated films increased three-fold.

The film distribution and projection network has developed rapidly. The country now has more than 2,000 film projection units that daily bring works of socialist cinematography to the masses, thereby helping to cultivate revolutionary ideals, enhance wholesome aesthetic concepts and tastes and gradually meet the cultural and artistic needs of the people.

The themes and subjects of all films have been expanded. Additional films have been made on life within the areas previously controlled by the Americans and puppets. Some films have been outstanding successes: profound in content and creative in form. Besides films that have continued to focus on the fight against the United States are films that have quickly seized upon vital questions of life. The feature films "The Season of Counter Winds," "The Abandoned Field," "Affection," "The Prisoner's Piece of Music," "Return to the Place of Windblown Sand," "Far and Near," "The Land of Swelling Winds," "Shining Sea," "Persons Who Met Before," "Last Hope," "The Peel of the Orange-Colored Bell," "Far from Home," "The Person Who Looked for Land" and others depict a vibrant panorama of the country from the standpoint of the days and nights spent fighting the United States and from the standpoint of the no less sharp and arduous issues of building and struggling in peace time today. Even the fight on the front against our new enemy has rapidly been reflected in film works: "Mother Earth," "The City Within Our Grasp," "The Traitor," "Beijing's Aggression and Disgraceful Defeat"... Many new successes have also emerged among documentary and scientific films. This has been very clearly evident in the films "The Communications Line Called Da River," "Song for a New Battle," "The Sound of the Long Drum," "Through the Writhing," "Making Rustling Sounds in the Water," "Twenty Years Later" and "Set Your Direction by the Sound of the Explosions" and in the collection of films on the 50 years of the revolutionary struggle of the Communist Party of Vietnam, on the career of President Ho and on the feelings of our people and army for Uncle Ho. The animated films "The forces of Au Co-Lac Long," "Biography of an Adventurous Cricket," "The Ant and the Grain of Rice," "Mr. Trang Flies a Kite," "Giving Oneself to the Mountain"... are new creations rich in national style.

During the 32 years since President Ho signed the decree establishing the cinematography sector, thousands of film works have recorded and described practically all of the most important events in the country's history. These works will forever be the honest and living witnesses of history to the building and defense of the country in our times.

In view of the achievements it has recorded, Vietnam's cinematography sector is wholly worthy of the praise given it by Chairman Truong Chinh: "Our party and state have high regard for and wholeheartedly welcome the tremendous efforts and achievements of the men and women of Vietnam's cinematography sector, of the dependable soldiers of our party and state on the cultural and literature-art front."(2)

However, the cinematography sector has also displayed weaknesses, even made mistakes, that have been and are limiting its achievements in many ways.

The gap between the cinema and life is still rather large. The ideological and artistic standards of many films are still low. This has become increasingly evident since the country was reunified and the revolution entered the new stage.

In recent years, main characters who are models of the new socialist men and women emerging in greater numbers amidst the realities of the revolution have still not been given a truly worthy position in the cinema. Only a low percentage of main characters portray soldiers in combat or workers and farmers in production.

As regards forms of expression, there are still misconceptions of the "new," misconceptions that have led to the introduction of unwholesome factors in works. In film making and photography, where we are today expanding the range of subjects, looking for ways to update our forms and language of expression and making efforts to delve into the inner feelings and the character of subjects, it is necessary, in a few cases, to recreate certain details and scenes with a view toward criticizing the immoral and decadent way of life. However, it should be mentioned that some films have fallen into using scenes or methods patterned after bourgeois commercial films in order to please the tastes of a backward segment of the viewing public. This mistake is then concealed behind the label "boldly expressing the new"!

The process of building and developing our national and revolutionary cinematography sector over the past several decades has been a process of arduous struggle by the entire corps of three successive generations of film makers, a process in which hundreds of cinematography cadres have shed their blood and sacrificed their lives, a process in which many sectors have given us their assistance and all the people have lent their support.

Today, in the new stage of the revolution, the cinematography sector faces numerous problems that must be resolved. Only by resolving these problems well can it complete its noble and glorious mission.

To begin with, it is necessary to continue to display the spirit of self-reliance. In view of the facts that our country is still poor and we must

produce more films each year, especially better films, it is extremely important that we have a deep appreciation of and vigorously build upon the tradition of self-reliance in the practical work of creating films and building the sector in the years ahead. Each and every person within the sector, beginning with those who have leadership and management responsibilities and writers, must adopt a positive plan and work in the spirit of the directive from Council of Ministers' Chairman Pham Van Dong: "We must make films within the context of our circumstances, namely, a very serious shortage of material and technical means. Of course, this is not good. However, in my opinion, there is something good to be found in this inadequacy in that, despite shortages, we still have been able to make films and are entirely capable of producing films that are of value both from the standpoint of their content and thinking and their artistic value."(3)

--There must be steadfast adherence to socialist realism as the creative method. For more than 30 years, recognizing that socialist realism is our best creative method, revolutionary film makers have embraced it and been very creative, as a result of which many works of the cinema, works in all genre, have been a success.

Socialist realism requires that we accurately reflect life in the process of its revolutionary development in order to help the masses appreciate art, correctly understand the realities of our country's revolution and have firm confidence in the bright future of our nation. In the sharp and complex struggle underway today between the "two paths," between ourselves and the enemy, between the new and the old, between the progressive and the backward, the principal task of our cinematography sector continues to be describing, in a way that is good, honest and eloquent, that which is great, that which is heroic and the splendid virtues that are blossoming in the new man and our new life. Only when this task is being performed can we say that our cinematography accurately reflects the real life of our country, only then will it be worthy of being Vietnamese socialist cinematography.

--Higher productivity, quality and efficiency must be achieved. We must improve the quality of all types of films. At the same time, importance must be attached to the quality of our efforts to publicize films. An effort must be made during the 1980's to produce a number of films that are of high ideological and artistic value and reduce the percentage of films that are merely brief outlines, are put together on the basis of formulas. Full importance must be attached to the ideological character of films in everything from film scripts in the creation of films to importation and distribution in the dissemination of films. We must not allow the situation to occur in which films are completed before it is discovered that they contain mistakes, as this only requires that time and money be spent correcting mistakes and has an adverse impact upon the corps of film makers. Attention must always be given to achieving higher productivity, quality and efficiency in both the making and dissemination of films. However, uppermost in importance is the positive impact that films have upon the awareness and thinking of the various strata of the viewing public. Determined efforts must be made to prevent commercialism from intruding in either the making or dissemination of films. Films must not seek to please the improper tastes of backward viewers.

The above is one aspect of the issue. On the other hand, attention must be given to the fact that cinematography is a production sector patterned after the industrial production line and requires many special purpose materials and pieces of equipment. Making a film entails a considerable amount of labor and money. Because we are experiencing many economic and financial difficulties, even many difficulties obtaining film, the purpose and impact of a film must be carefully weighed, especially of films that require large expenditures.

Therefore, the cinematography sector--as an artistic-industrial production sector of the broadest mass nature--can and must implement cost accounting and socialist business practices and operate in an increasingly profitable manner in order to rapidly develop our cinema and contribute to the state budget. At the same time, it must continue to attach utmost importance to its artistic function.

--We must build, consolidate and strengthen the corps of film makers. In the years ahead, our corps of film makers must grow and become stronger in every respect, must overcome mistakes and endeavor to develop their craft and fulfill their noble task in the socialist revolution.

Cultivating the political and artistic stand and views of film makers and building their life experience are emerging as a task of basic importance. We must make good use of cultural funds and awards, prizes and incentives to alleviate some of their difficulties and encourage them to delve into the life of the people, go to places that are progressive and live with progressive persons in production and combat. By approaching their work with the soul of the artist, of the militant in the socialist revolution today, our corps of film makers will discover much that is beautiful about the new life and the new Vietnamese men and women who are building Vietnam's real socialism, will be able to truly move others by presenting genuine beauty and create works that are truly of value.

When the entire corps of film makers is forged to "be militants who fight through their artistic works"(4), truly strong changes will surely come about, changes that will cause our revolutionary cinematography sector to make steady, splendid strides forward in the years ahead.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Report of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee at the 4th National Congress of Delegates, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1977, p 121.
2. NHAN DAN Newspaper: "Loi phat bieu cua Chu tich Truong Chinh"[Speech by Truong Chinh], 16 March 1983.

3. Pham Van Dong-To Huu: "Su nghiep van nghe va su mang cua nguoi nghe si"  
[Literature and Art and the Mission of the Artist], Su That Publishing  
House, Hanoi, 1984, p 24.

4. Ibid., p 20.

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## VIETNAM'S REVOLUTIONARY FINE ARTS IN PAST YEARS AND THE YEARS AHEAD

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 10, Oct 85 pp 88-91

[Article by Duong Vien]

[Text] During the past 40 years, under the light of our party's line on culture, literature and art, the fine arts have occupied a worthy position and made important contributions in building the new culture and molding the new man in our country.

Our revolutionary fine arts actually only came into being with the August Revolution. Focusing on the tasks of the revolution in each stage, the fine arts have continuously developed in both breadth and depth. In the tens of thousands of paintings and statues that have been made by the thousands of persons engaged in the fine arts, some of whom gave their lives in combat, we clearly see the people of Vietnam, the new farmer and worker, the soldier of the armed forces and the changes that have taken place in life. Even during the resistance against France, the fine arts gave us exceedingly valuable works of respected, experienced painters. They lived and fought with the nation, with the people. The anti-French caricatures of the painter To Ngoc Van can be viewed as marking a change in artistic imagery, the subjects of art and creative method. The sets of engravings on soldier heroes, on the campaigns in Cao-Bac-Lang, Zone 5, Nam Bo, Dien Bien Phu...are eloquent examples of the activities of the artist-soldier. Having withstood the test of time, the historical and artistic value of the anti-French drawing has become increasingly clear. Oil paintings and lacquer paintings, although very few in number, also served to directly prepare the way for the pinnacle we have reached since then.

The 10 years of peace (1954-1964) in the North, years marked by an atmosphere of happiness and inspiration, brought a breath of optimism to the fine arts. Many splendid lacquer paintings and oil paintings portrayed the new life of the manual worker, the farmer and the mental laborer in the socialist North. Engravings combined works representative of this initial stage with feelings expressed through calligraphy. During this stage and up until the total liberation of the South, the fine arts sector also developed in breadth. Second generation artists assumed the dominant role. Caricatures on the resistance against the war of destruction of the U.S. invaders and the resistance in the South, paintings and statues portraying the Truong Son



Trail, the battlefields of Indochina, cooperativization and industrial construction in the North...greatly increased in number and added to the latent optimism of the preceding stage a robust and strong quality in the language of the fine arts. The fields of theory and criticism, decorative art, applied art and industrial art developed in breadth and grew many deep roots. The fine arts began making their presence in the cultural and spiritual lives of the masses. Large national exhibits representing a diversity of genre and types and a large number of artists were held. Our fine arts also gained fame in the world through exhibits in foreign countries and many painters and sculptors won international prizes. This period was the period during which the third generation of artists, a generation with new potentials, was trained and challenged.

The past 10 years (1975-1985) have been a stage of important changes in our country's fine arts. Revolutionary fine arts now embrace the entire country and have been augmented by a force of patriotic artists who previously lived in the zone occupied by the enemy. The fine art needs of localities, economic sectors, organizations, mass organizations and the state have dramatically increased. Peace time construction is now the environment in which tens of millions of persons work and live. It also provides very rich and diverse themes for the fine arts. The cultural needs of the people have been steadily rising. The dream and inner demand of the artist for an artistic life that is truly tied to the life of the people have become pressing. The need to describe in diverse and eloquent ways the realities of the 40 years of revolution is an objective need of society and the burning dream of each individual artist. From the exhibit devoted to the theme "The Armed Forces" in 1976 and the national fine arts exhibit in 1980 to subsequent exhibits, such as the exhibit hailing the 5th Congress of the Party in 1982, we have clearly seen strong changes in a positive direction occur in our country's fine arts: the turn to a broader range of subjects and genre, the discovery of new forms of expression and an effort to delve into important themes and subjects on the leading edge of life. The corps of persons engaged in the fine arts has grown increasingly large. This corps has conducted spirited activities and produced many rather good works.

Since 1983, following the 2nd Congress of the Vietnam Fine Arts Association, the creative atmosphere has been steadily improved. The concern of the party and state for organizational matters as well as spiritual and material needs has given the artists in the fine arts increased self-confidence, heightened their sense of responsibility and increased their creative enthusiasm. It can be said that inroads are being made against the maladies of brevity and the use of formulas. The dynamism of the organization and activities of the fine arts sector are being tapped. However, we must still constantly take positive steps to oppose phenomena that reflect a remoteness from life, remoteness from the line, remoteness from the laboring people, and ignore the burning issues of the country, of the men and women of Vietnam in the new stage. These are the phenomena of seeking to gratify ordinary tastes, seeking commercial gain, yielding to foreign influences and stubbornly adhering to old ways.

In 1984, Vietnam's fine arts circles pursued a high pace of activity in all fields and in many different locales. Some 45 exhibits were held at home and abroad. All were widely acclaimed. All fields of the fine arts developed in

depth. Dozens of fine arts projects were presented. Scientific conferences began to delve into issues regarding the practical aspects of creativity. The establishment of ties with other sectors, with localities, agencies and mass organizations augmented the capabilities of the fine Fine Arts Association and proved to be an effective approach to take.

The highly significant year 1985 is also an important year in the development of our country's fine arts. Very many localities in the South (Hue, Quang Nam-Da Nang, Ho Chi Minh City...) are building many monuments and memorial parks and holding major fine arts exhibits. In Hanoi, important exhibits are being held, such as the National Exhibit of Young Artists, the Painting and Sculpture Exhibit of Women Artists, the 10 Years of Drawings in Vietnam Exhibit and, the highpoint, the 11th National Fine Arts Exhibit, which is being held on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the August Revolution and the establishment of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, now the Socialist Republic of Vietnam.

The issue of foremost importance concerning our country's fine arts at this time is how to tap the creative abilities of the valued corps of artists, artists who have been tempered in the course of the revolution, have no shortage of talent and are working in each region of the country. The professional development of artists must proceed hand in hand with the development of their world view, their character, ethics and political outlook. Teaching politics and ideology to artists and providing them with professional training are the tasks of the Vietnam Fine Arts Association. At the same time, they are the responsibility of all sectors, levels and localities that directly manage the corps of artists. The responsibility of the artist, the responsibility of the citizen and the professional conscience of each artist are of more decisive importance now than ever before. They are the prerequisite to the production of works that are of high ideological and artistic value, works that reflect a unique individual style. Guidance, openness, respect for the right of self-determination, the individuality and the different styles of artists and so forth are necessary. Under socialism, the artist cannot be merely a person who accepts an order for a product, cannot be someone who is hired and paid a wage, but must truly be the creative master. In particular, elderly artists must be provided with favorable conditions so that they can contribute to the full measure of their skill and experience. Attention must be given to lending appropriate assistance to eager and zealous young artists. Cultivating within them the character of the artist, inspiring self-confidence in them and creating for them the conditions they need to undertake specific social and artistic jobs are the ways that we can help forge them in artistic creativity. We cannot allow the careers of young artists to develop by chance or merely by passively waiting for positive conditions in life to have an impact. Because they lack experience in life, young artists do not always readily take the proper direction, consequently, their ability to discern and distinguish between that which is real and that which is fake is generally limited. If their lives have clear purpose and are closely tied to socialism, to the laboring people, they can develop their talents. If their creative efforts lack a clear direction and purpose, they will lose their aesthetic confidence and easily fall into formalism.

The feudal system gave birth to sponsorship of the fine arts by the imperial palace, landlords and religious organizations. Capitalist society brought about the establishment of the fine arts free market with various forms of museums, the ordering of fine art products, companies that sell paintings and sculpture and private exhibits and galleries. We have abolished the feudal and capitalist mechanisms in order to liberate the arts and fine artists. However, it must be recognized that, over the past several decades, we have only created an approach that was compatible with the development of the fine arts under war time conditions, under conditions in which the country was partitioned and socialism did not embrace the entire nation. Today, 10 years after the liberation of the South and the reunification of the fatherland, the specific realities of our country demand that we must give thought and turn our hands to establishing for the fine arts the mechanism "the party leads, the state manages and the people exercise ownership." Important at this time is the need to establish the legally guaranteed status, the right to work and the economic and financial interests of artists and the fine arts, specifically to separate the fine arts from the ineffective and wasteful system of administrative management and subsidization. The fine arts relate to the entire material world made by man, from large cities to the teapots and cups used within the home. They are the material processing arts; therefore, they directly relate to the economic, technical, financial and management issues of all levels, basic units and localities. At present, although not required by state regulations, hundreds of millions of dong are being spent each year on fine arts work. One problem we see is that large jobs sometimes are not assigned to capable artists or agencies that have authority in the arts. Quality is not certified. There are no clearly defined regulations on the use of materials and funds. The occupational rights of the fine art units of the state and the Vietnam Fine Arts Association must be defined under regulations. Regulations must also be adopted on the certification of projects, with the primary responsibility for certification being borne by the Vietnam Fine Arts Association and the Ministry of Culture and with certification beginning with projects on a particular management level or at a particular cost level. The coordination between party A and party B (the units and artists mentioned above) in carrying out fine arts projects must also be clearly defined in regulations. To insure that the fine arts are present in cultural, civilian, housing, business and other projects, we must require that a specific percentage of investment capital be invested in the fine arts on these different types of projects. Lastly, facilities must be established to broadcast and disseminate the fine arts among the people more widely. It is truly inadequate for a country such as ours to have only one fine arts museum, to have only two or three permanent galleries and to publish only a few books on the fine arts each year. Clearly, to establish a new mechanism for the activities of the fine arts, one that is wholly compatible with socialism, there is a need for regulations of the state, for criterion on the performance of fine arts projects. The poor, inferior quality of many permanent public projects and temporary support projects (such as exhibits, fairs, advertisements...) are causing both financial waste and a waste of talent. And, if this state of disorder persists and grows in the decades ahead, it will, in view of the rising need for the fine arts, create many difficulties and complex problems in the development of our country's fine arts.

The fine arts are directly used in the cultural and artistic lives of the laboring people. Therefore, relations must be established, on the one hand, between practitioners of the fine arts and the Vietnam Fine Arts Association, and on the other hand, by the mass organizations that are in charge of cultural life, such as the Trade Union, the Youth Union and the Women's Union as well as the cultural services and offices. In the use of their cultural funds, these mass organizations must be instructed and regulated concerning the use of fine art works. Coordination among the Vietnam Fine Arts Association, the Ministry of Culture and the mass organizations mentioned above is the permanent, most necessary base required for a fine arts life that truly serves the people, for fine arts that truly reach the hands and eyes of the laboring people.

The fine arts are entering a new stage facing a bewildering array of practical questions. However, the coming period will surely be the period of the true transition to socialism by our country's fine arts.

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## BUILDING A COMPLETE, NATIONAL, MODERN AND SOCIALIST VIETNAMESE MUSIC SECTOR

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 10, Oct 85 pp 92-96

[Article by Huy Du]

[Text] Together with the other culture and art sectors, the music sector can take very much pride in the contributions that it has made in the revolutionary cause of our nation over the past 40 years. The marvelous achievements recorded in the struggle for liberation, in building and defending the fatherland by our people during the past several decades under the correct and talented leadership of the party have provided fertile ground for the development of a Vietnamese music sector that is richly national and socialist.

The most significant achievement of the music sector has been the creation of songs that have promptly supported the tasks of the revolution in each period of history. Thousands of songs have reflected and praised the struggle for independence and freedom, the struggle to reunify the country and the socialist construction of our people. All the widespread and spirited revolutionary movements conducted during the war of resistance, such as the "three readies youth" movement, the "three responsibilities women's" movement, the movement to join the army and save the country, the "plow in one hand, rifle in the other" movement, the "hammer in one hand, rifle in the other" movement and so forth, were expressed in moving songs rich in imagery. Songs were present at practically every place and time in our people's life of fighting and working. Many songs were written immediately before or after a fierce but very brave battle. Many songs perfectly combined the traditional and the modern and were rich and diverse from the standpoint of artistic method. Our songs also rose to the level of progressive songs in the world but still expressed a uniquely Vietnamese character.

Significant achievements were also recorded in the fields of symphonic music, chamber music, musical plays, dance music and music for the cinema. Besides large-scale musical plays, there were also medium and small-scale plays suited to the conditions that existed during the war for performances and service work. Although this was a brand new field to us, in the many works that were performed, we saw very promising strongpoints, saw new discoveries and innovations in the language of our national music.

The field of musical performances also grew in terms of both the number and the quality of performers and musicians. During the war years, we served the masses through performances on regular stages and by organizing small, lightly equipped, mobile shock units that were well suited to war time conditions. As artist-soldiers, performers travelled to all the hot spots in life. The sounds of musical instruments and singing became an enormous strength and inspired and motivated our armed forces and people to fight to defend and build the fatherland. Many artists died on battlefields scorched by enemy bombs and shells.

Through the air waves and the mass media, music permeated life and became an indispensable, daily spiritual meal of our people. Our music also was a symbol of the will and strength of Vietnam to our friends in the world.

Work in the fields of musical research, theory and criticism also began to be given attention and flourished in some respects. The corps of persons engaged in musical research, theory and criticism received specialized training and their professional standards are now being raised. We began conducting systematic research projects on a number of matters pertaining to national music and revolutionary music. We collected tens of thousands of folk songs and pieces of ancient music and many national musical items and instruments of value. Improvements made to a number of traditional musical instruments (the mono-stringed zither, the Trung zither, the H'Mong flute, the Klong Put zither...) yielded gratifying results in musical activities and performances.

The musical achievements of our nation over the past several decades have not been recorded in isolation from the spirited, continuous and broad mass music and song movement. This movement has served as an inexhaustible source of talent for the corps of music writers, performers, researchers and critics. The "sound of singing drowns out the noise of the bombs" movement, the "sound of singing from the rear area" movement, the "singing everywhere" movement and the "sing for your fellow countrymen" movement during the years of the resistance and hundreds of festivals of the masses in all sectors and circles, all localities, agencies, enterprises, schools and so forth reflected the movement's robust vitality.

Since the total liberation of the South and the reunification of the fatherland, when Vietnam's revolution entered the new stage, the stage of the entire country advancing to socialism and performing the two strategic tasks of building socialism and defending the socialist fatherland, songs have continued to play the dominant role, have continued to be on the leading edge of revolutionary music. However, against the background of the country's new circumstances today, with the needs of the masses to make and enjoy music steadily rising and the struggle between ourselves and the enemy, between the "two paths" being decisive and sharp, complex changes and developments have also occurred within the various elements that make up musical activities (composers-performers-the public). In the past, the activities of the music sector focused mainly on a type of songs demanded by the realities of life in combat. In the North, these three elements were fused and united as one. There were no significant gaps separating composers, performers and the public. However, since the South was completely liberated (especially in the cities), some performers and segments of the public have shunned or felt an

aversion to revolutionary music. In the provinces and municipalities of the South during the first years following liberation, there was still a profusion of decadent songbooks, tapes and records that had either been left behind by the old system or were newly imported from foreign countries. The music listening habits that a segment of the public had during the years of the Americans and puppets have changed slowly. The imperialists, reactionaries and their lackeys overseas have continued doing everything they can to use music to poison the masses, especially youths, with the aim of opposing and attacking the revolution. The struggle to resolve the question "who triumphs over whom" in the field of music has been a very sharp and bitter struggle. This struggle has not only been taking place in the provinces and municipalities of the South, but has also spread to many places in the North. In the face of this situation, there was a period of time when we were lax with regard to mass musical performances and activities, were confused and even unable to discern between black and white, between the real and the fake. As a result, "disorder" occurred in the field of music. During the past several years, thanks to the close guidance provided by responsible agencies, this "disorder" has greatly decreased. Attention must be given to the fact that, in the field of music, problems cannot be immediately solved simply by taking administrative measures (confiscation, banning) or simply through criticism in the press. The needs of the masses, especially youths, to enjoy and make music are rising and constantly changing. What we must have to meet these needs are good musical works and concrete, appropriate performing models, that is, we must have models that are new and beautiful to replace the old and the ugly so that we do not create these gaps. At the 1985 Professional Soloist Competition recently held in Ho Chi Minh City, revolutionary songs were extolled and wholesome performing styles were applauded.

The development of Vietnamese revolutionary songs is an achievement worthy of pride. However, the music of a nation does not stop at songs or, more broadly stated, at the various kinds of musical sounds, even though every nation's music began with singing. The needs of the spiritual life of man today are becoming increasingly diverse and sophisticated. At the same time, the development of art is also creating an increasing diversity of forms and types. European music, which also developed from short songs sung by soloists to long songs sung by many persons, such as choirs and mixed choirs, to plays and then to operas, is a universal type of art. Our nation's music has also advanced from folk songs to the various types of stringed instruments, solo performances and choral performances. Our people's appreciation of music has, since ancient times, extended beyond songs. The appreciation of instrumental music in our country today, although not truly developed, does clearly reflect needs that must be met. Over the past several decades, although the development of music has begun to reflect diversity, there has continued to be a lack of balance and coordination among the different fields and elements of music and between the different types of works and performing units, especially those kinds of units that require time to prepare, a material-technical base, the detailed training of artists and a public that appreciates their art form.

The lack of balance in our music today is even evident in vocal music. Songs for the soloist continue to predominate and there is a lack of songs for

collectives, for groups, choruses and mixed choruses. These other types are capable of addressing broader themes and subjects and have a positive effect in teaching thinking and the aesthetics of sound.

However, the major imbalance is the imbalance between vocal music and instrumental music. Due to the need of society for music, the development of music itself and the need for international exchanges, developing instrumental music is an objective necessity. Through instrumental works, which are not restricted by a language barrier, we can introduce to the world an important aspect of our country's music and contribute the voice of our music to the major themes of our times.

For literature and art to reach the broad masses, there must be means by which they are conveyed, such as printed materials, exhibit halls, display rooms and so forth. Music also requires rather large material-technical bases, performers who possess appropriate musical skills, musical instruments (if it is instrumental music), theaters, music rooms, etc. The individual composer or performer cannot bring works of music to the masses in a way that is complete without appropriate concern and investments in the form of guidance, policies, material-technical bases and efforts to build the corps of composers and performers. Our country must contend with very many difficulties and investments in the music sector have been limited. However, we cannot wait until we have a complete material base before beginning to build this sector. Rather, we must continue to promote efforts to build a complete music sector that is worthy of the history of our heroic country, worthy of the people of Vietnam in the age of Ho Chi Minh.

One matter of no less importance is the need to develop the composing of instrumental music in a way that is compatible with the realities of our country. To date, we have only composed a number of independent instrumental pieces (some symphonies, a few concertos and a small number of pieces of chamber music). The balance of what we have composed has been music without vocal accompaniment for the dance, for the ballet, for dramatic works, that is, music associated with other art forms, not purely instrumental music. Nevertheless, in what we have composed, a number of tendencies can be seen. Some works of some composers have strayed far from the special characteristics of the language of Vietnamese music. Instrumental music consists of many factors, such as melody, harmony, rhythm, arrangement and so forth but its origin must still be melody that is closely associated with the musical cultural tradition of Vietnam. Only in this way can these works reach the masses, be popular in their appeal, stir the soul of listeners and bring them aesthetic pleasure. Searching for new modes of expression in instrumental music is necessary but this must always be done on the basis of the fundamental lines set forth by the party concerning art: building a national and modern Vietnamese music sector. As applied here, modern means reflecting the life being lived by our nation now, not simply being "original" in order to then adopt "new for the sake of being new" trends and turn music into a mystical realm that is divorced from the musical tastes of the nation in the current age, thus making music something alien, which could easily lead to musical trends that are now even outmoded in the West. To develop Vietnamese instrumental music in a way that is proper, a way that is not old fashioned, does not repeat the 19th century musical styles of Europe and does not fall



into impressionism, expressionism, avant-garde music and so forth, we must cling to the musical tradition of Vietnam, of the life of Vietnam. At the same time, we must take the initiative in gradually raising the music appreciation standards and sensitivity of the broad masses.

Besides the organizations of musical performers on the central level, in which appropriate investments must continue to be made, we must gradually establish forms of music that serve as bridges to the masses and can be undertaken by local forces, forms that are consistent with the music appreciation standards and requirements of the masses and compatible with existing material bases. One of these forms is the new opera in small and medium-scale productions. The new opera satisfies one of the tastes of average Vietnamese lovers of art because it has relevance, tells a story, readily attracts viewers and listeners and is highly popular. This form is an effective preparatory step in gradually familiarizing the public at large with the methods of description employed in non-vocalized music. It is very well suited to the localities and there are now song and dance groups and traditional opera troupes (classical opera, modern opera and reform opera) in practically every province and municipality. The new opera, with its new musical images, new melodies and supported and accompanied by the new orchestra, will afford many advantages for meeting the need to express life today. The performers and musicians of many local song and dance groups are capable of performing the new opera.

In addition, within many local song and dance groups, there are musicians who play international instruments and can perform short pieces of music written for new instruments either as soloists or with the orchestra but who are not now being used in musical programs. Many groups either focus too much on light music or use only a few traditional instruments, such as the mono-stringed zither and the bamboo flute, in solo performances, perhaps thinking that international instruments, although very popular in many countries, are still not national, are still "Western." It goes without saying that the unique sounds of traditional national instruments are very precious, cannot be replaced and must be respected, preserved and developed. However, the unique national sound and shape of a zither do not constitute the full or complete quality that makes a musical work national in character. This national character is expressed first in the thinking behind music, in the structure of melody, harmony and so forth, not in the unique sound of the zither, in the shape of the zither. Every nation has produced its own unique musical instruments using materials that are usually available domestically, instruments with their own unique sounds. However, in the final analysis, the instrument is only a means by which music is expressed. The formal music schools and classes of our country have trained musicians who can play our instruments and those of the world well. As a result, in the course of cultural exchanges with other nations, we have acquired new musical instruments to help make our people's musical life increasingly rich and diverse.

With the concern and leadership of the party and state, with the assistance of the various sectors and levels and with the efforts of those persons who work in the field of music in our country, we will surely succeed in building a complete, modern and national Vietnamese music sector and thus help to mold the well balanced and fully developed new man and woman of Vietnam.

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## RELIGIOUS COMPATRIOTS IN THE 40 YEARS OF THE REVOLUTION

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 10, Oct 85 pp 97-100, 82

[Article by The Hung]

[Text] There are many different religions in our country. Some, such as Buddhism, Catholicism, Protestantism and Islam, were brought here from foreign countries. Some, such as the Cao Dai and Hoa Hao religions, have local origins. Others, such as the Cham [Chawm] religion (Balamon) and the Bui (Islam) of the Cham [Chamf], were brought here from other countries but then adapted by ethnic groups. Although they believe in different religions, religious compatriots, regardless of whether they live together with other members of their own religion or are interspersed among the population, have shared one point in common: the vast majority of them are laborers who were frustrated by the life that their religion required them to lead as a result of being severely oppressed and exploited, being deceived under the old system. The imperialists always used the religions to their advantage. This was one of the strategies they used to invade our country and rule our people. Catholicism and the Cao Dai and Hoa Hao religions were the religions that were exploited by the imperialists the most. But even in those religions considered as having a positive relationship with the nation's history, such as Buddhism, a segment of the hierarchy was not immune to exploitation by them. In the old society, religious compatriots lived miserable lives, were poisoned by the imperialists' policy of keeping the people in ignorance and were, consequently, very obedient. But they also possessed a latent patriotism and their interests were closely associated with the revolution. When the revolution broke out and with the guidance of the party, their patriotic spirit, their love of independence, freedom and socialism erupted.

Our party correctly assessed the religious issue and adopted correct policies concerning the religions, religious followers, the clergy and churches. As a result, religious followers and a large number of the clergy grew ever closer to the fatherland and the nation regardless of how cunning and insidious the enemy was in their attempts to win their allegiance, sow divisions and provoke opposition.

During the past 40 years, under the leadership of our party, our people have united in a fight that brought victory over two imperialist powers, France and the United States, and recorded very significant achievements in building and defending the fatherland, in building the new life.

During the 9 years of the resistance against France and the more than 20 years of the fight against the Americans and puppets, religious compatriots lived under circumstances that made their struggle a complicated one. When they returned to invade our country for the second time, the French colonialists, in a vain attempt to win the allegiance of Catholics, put Admiral D'Argenlieu, a monk, in charge of the invading force. In 1951, they sent de Lattre de Tassigny to Vietnam. Prior to his departure for Vietnam, this general travelled to the Vatican, where he met with Pope Pius XII and received the Pope's wishes for the success of French expeditionary forces.(1) As a result, the colonialists provoked domestic reactionaries, such as Bishop Le Huu Tu, into openly opposing our people's war of resistance and serving as lackeys of the French imperialists. Archbishop Jean Dulaix was sent to Indochina to serve as ambassador of the Holy See. Dulaix chaired the Conference of Indochina Bishops in late 1951 that prohibited Catholic citizens and clergy from participating in and supporting the war of resistance. He drew Vietnamese Catholic clergy into collaboration with the enemy and headed the campaign to entice and force Catholics to migrate in 1954-1955. In an even more brazen move, Dulaix chaired a conference of bishops that prohibited Vietnamese Catholics from joining the Liaison Committee of Patriotic and Peace Loving Catholics (March 1955). Prior to then, the Japanese had used the Tay Ninh Cao Dai religion as a base of theirs. The French exploited both the Cao Dai and Hoa Hao religions, unleashing fratricidal strife in many localities of the South (1948-1949) and turning the areas inhabited by the followers of these two religions into areas in which opposition to the war of resistance was intense... By the time that the U.S. imperialists kicked out the French colonialists, they had gained experience and were more sophisticated in their exploitation of the religions.

Although cunning and malicious, the enemy could not extinguish the flame of patriotism that burned within the hearts of religious followers in our country. Even before the birth of the revolutionary government (1945), especially during its early days, more than a few Catholic clergy and citizens actively participated in the work of the various sectors and levels. In the free zones during the war of resistance against France and in the North following the victory at Dien Bien Phu, religious compatriots made outstanding contributions in combat and combat support operations, in production and everyday life. In the guerrilla zones, where the seesaw fight against the enemy was very violent, religious compatriots made rather large contributions. Covert and overt political and armed movements against the enemy also arose and developed in areas deep within enemy territory where the revolutionary administration only survived for 1 month (September 1945). Moreover, at places that the enemy claimed trusted them the most, we still managed to build resistance bases.

Buddhists actively participated in patriotic movements and the resistance. During the first days of the resistance against France, at the Co Le Temple in Ha Nam Ninh Province, 28 monks removed their robes in order to join the army. The Buddhist Association for National Salvation and, later, the Vietnam United Buddhists Association fulfilled their role in the resistance in a worthy fashion. The number of revolutionary bases among Buddhist priests and nuns was greatly increased. The strong struggles waged by nuns and priests in Hue,

Da Nang, Saigon and so forth inspired patriotism among their fellow countrymen and proved to be a very big headache to the Americans and puppets.

Catholics faced many more difficulties than the followers of the other religions because of their required participation in a tightly structured organizational system with strong spiritual powers. However, the achievements that Catholics have recorded over the past 40 years are truly deserving of pride. In the resistance against France, many Catholic guerrilla hamlets and villages, such as Xuan Thuy (Hai Hau District, Ha Nam Ninh Province), Nghia Hoang (Nghia Hung District, Ha Nam Ninh Province) and others, thwarted many enemy sweep operations and wore down or killed many enemy forces. During the war of resistance against France, nearly 100,000 Catholic youths joined the army from one very strong guerrilla organization in Thong Tay Hoi in the outskirts of Saigon. At many places, Catholics recorded feats of arms by shooting down U.S. aircraft and setting U.S. warships afire. Typical among these was heroic Quang Phuc Village, which earned the title steel fortress on the bank of the Gianh river and shot down four U.S. aircraft while coordinating with troops in shooting down three others. Ho Nai, Cai San and other places which the enemy considered to be trustworthy bases of their own also had resistance bases. The anti-French movement and then the anti-American-puppet movement of Catholics and a number of priests and monks were very broad and diverse, were covert and overt, political and armed and occurred even within the city of Saigon. How great was the glory of the nearly 1,000 persons of Nhan Hoa Village in the outskirts of Saigon, all Catholic lay persons and priests, who gave their parish to resistance forces to be used as one of the staging areas for the general offensive and uprising in the spring of 1975.

The Cao Dai parishes around the Cao Dai Center in Tay Ninh and the Hoa Hao hamlets and villages, such as Long Kien in An Giang Province, were resistance bases that the enemy never suspected. The battle of Tua Hai, which opened the armed struggle against the United States by our fellow countrymen in the South and during which we captured 1,000 weapons, broke out in Tay Ninh. The Johnson City sweep operation of the Americans met with tragic defeat in an area heavily populated by followers of the Cao Dai religion. During the past 10 years, our fellow countrymen in the newly liberated areas have enjoyed many favorable conditions for displaying their patriotism and helping to build and defend the socialist fatherland. In the fight against the Pol Pot reactionaries and Beijing expansionists and hegemonists as well as in the fight to wipe out FULRO, many soldiers who believe in a religion have recorded feats of arms. A significant number of persons who are religious has shed blood for the fatherland in the new period!

Besides contributing manpower and materiel to the war of resistance, religious compatriots in the rural areas of the North embarked on agricultural cooperativization and established the new production relations before having to retaliate against the war of destruction of the U.S. pirates. Through suitable forms of organization, religious compatriots in the South have embarked on the course of earning their livings collectively over the past several years. On the basis of the new production relations, they and their fellow countrymen throughout the country have achieved the strength needed to fight the enemy, to protect and build the new life. During the past 10 years,

despite having to deal with the war of aggression and wide-ranging sabotage of the enemy, despite much confusion and many difficulties in management and the ways that livings are earned, the lives of religious compatriots everywhere have undergone gratifying changes. Many places once known as poor now have many more tile houses than thatch houses. In the Catholic parish of Van Xuan (Nghe Tinh), which consists of 110 households engaged in fishing, the fishing cooperative is a model unit. The cooperative is able to pay a retirement pension to members who have been actively working for 25 years (at present, class II pensions of 4,000 dong(2) per month are being paid to 12 cooperative members). Chau Giang is a diocese-wide cooperative (in Trac But Village) in the lowlying area of Ha Nam Ninh Province that has for many years been recording achievements in many fields: combat, production, living conditions and cultural and social work. During the period of French domination, one of the hamlets of Hai Van Village (Hai Hau District, Ha Nam Ninh Province) was a Catholic hamlet of beggars; today, there is a fully developed life there and the hamlet has been praised by many foreign visitors. The Catholic area of Tra Kieu in Quang Nam-Da Nang Province, where many unwholesome phenomena once occurred, has now become the best cooperative in the province. At the cooperative, in addition to rice production, are many handicraft trades, one paper mill with a capacity of 5,000 tons per year and one 300 kw hydroelectric power station. In the Cao Dai areas around the Tay Ninh Cao Dai Center, religious compatriots have stabilized their production and daily lives. An Giang Province, where followers of the Hoa Hao religion make up a rather large percentage of the population (80 percent), has quickly become known as an area that produces a high rice yield and output, an area in which many aspects of life have been markedly improved...

Poverty and ignorance have been pushed back in every area inhabited by religious compatriots. During the years of the resistance against the United States, persons in many hamlets in areas that were once very backward graduated from vocational middle schools and colleges. At many places, the new way of life has replaced backward and outmoded customs and habits.

Back when the South was liberated, the enemy, as we recall, advanced some malicious psychological warfare arguments: the communists will take revenge, they will ban religions, a blood bath will ensue and so forth. "Prophetic" statements were also made overseas: an ideological war will break out. As the realities of the past 10 years have shown, there was no revenge, no blood bath, nor was there any ideological war, only love and assistance. This was why reactionary organizations were crushed as soon as they sprung up in Ho Chi Minh City, in Thong Nhat District, in the Cao Dai Center in Tay Ninh. And, it was religious followers who helped security agencies expose these organizations. It can be said that the security situation within religious areas has undergone changes for the better. Typical of the achievements recorded in this field is Cam Truong parish (Quynh Luu District, Nghe Tinh Province), which was recently awarded the "Determined To Win" Emulation Banner by the Ministry of Interior.

A force of more than 10,000 Catholic core cadres in the North has shouldered heavy responsibilities as they have participated in combat and construction along with their fellow countrymen. This force is developing strongly in the areas in which religious compatriots live. This force is the product of the

patriotic movement in religious areas. It has been trained and educated by the party organizations and administrations on the various levels and is making every effort to complete the glorious tasks now being carried out by all our people: fighting poverty and backwardness, fighting the expansionist aggressors, building a life of comfort and happiness and firmly defending the beloved socialist Vietnamese fatherland.

As regards religious compatriots, they are gratified that their religion has been freed from the filthy hands of the imperialists and that they themselves are now happy, contented and living in close harmony with the fatherland, with the nation. It can be said that the victory won in the resistance against France also removed old-style colonialism from the religions: the Catholic Church of Vietnam acquired religious items that are national in nature. The victory won in the war of resistance against the United States for national salvation freed the Catholic Church of Vietnam from neo-colonialism and from direct control by foreigners so that it could join the nation in happiness and contentment. It was not surprising that the Vietnam Council of Bishops issued a very encouraging open letter in early May, 1980, which read in part: "Let us align ourselves with the destiny of our homeland." This made the enemy very angry. Undesirable elements within a number of religions, especially within the Catholic Church overseas, distorted and falsely represented the policy of our party and state concerning religions. They attacked and slandered the Solidarity Committee of Patriotic Vietnamese Catholics, an organization that has carried on and built upon the patriotic tradition of Catholics. But not one of the enemy's sinister schemes or actions has borne fruit. This is due to one simple reason: the revolution is the undertaking of the masses. And, it is the Communist Party of Vietnam that has led religious compatriots to independence, freedom and happiness.

Forty years have elapsed. Suffering and ignorance have been relegated to the past. Inroads have been made against poverty and backwardness. The achievements that have been recorded by religious compatriots and the changes that have occurred in religious areas have truly been large. But more than a few problems still need to be solved in religious areas. For example, political standards and the level of socialist awareness are not uniform. At some places, backward customs and habits are still deeply entrenched; family planning is being adopted slowly; the corps of cadres, especially in the South, has not been appropriately forged or trained; the implementation of the policy on religion is still subjective and cursory in some respects...

We are confident that, with the concern and leadership of the various party committee echelons, with proper management by the various levels of the government and by building upon their tradition of patriotism and love of socialism, religious compatriots will make worthy contributions to the nation's common revolutionary cause.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Pierre Darcourt: "de Lattre in Vietnam," La Table ronde, Paris, 1965, p 257.
2. Old money, the equivalent of 400 dong in new money.

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## CRIMINAL LITERATURE

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 10, Oct 85 pp 101-106

[Article by Le Xuan Vu]

[Text] In the hodgepodge that is the literature of China today, there is a type of literature that praises and encourages that which is China's greatest crime--the crime of aggression. Only one name can be given to this literature: criminal literature.

By sending more than 600,000 aggressor troops to invade Vietnam following the defeat they suffered in their war by proxy against Vietnam, the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists sought to conquer the Vietnamese and restore, under their command, the tyrannical rule of the genocidal Pol Pot regime in Cambodia. Through the war of aggression that they themselves waged against Vietnam in February, 1979, they showed just how ruthless they really are, revealed their anti-socialist reactionary character and destroyed the revolutionary gains made by the people of China. They tarnished the honor and harmed the self-confidence of the people of China, who have always treasured the long-standing friendship between the two peoples of China and Vietnam. They also trampled upon the "Eight Bests" flag of the Chinese army, an army with a tradition of struggling for the nation's just causes. The war of aggression against Vietnam in February 1979 is a large stain in the modern history of China. It was sternly denounced by the entire world. It evoked legitimate indignation among large numbers of cadres and soldiers of the Chinese army and among Chinese laboring people. All ordinary people of conscience have denounced the vile, reactionary character of those who collaborated with the United States in masterminding that atrocious war. Yet, when some persons in China, persons considered to be writers, go out of their way to extol the war of aggression against Vietnam, when they defend that war and portray it as heroic "retaliation in self-defense" as claimed by the liars who masterminded the war, it is enough for us to see what kind of literature this is.

What it is can be stated in a single sentence: it is literature sold at the highest price to the sinister powers now ruling China, literature written to nurture their insane expansionist ambitions. Evidence of this is seen in the fact that all of these works fit the same mold, all are contrived and none of their authors are well known or acclaimed, yet, all of these authors have been

wholeheartedly praised at great length by Chinese ruling circles. Those who hold the highest power in China, pleased by the biographies and accounts of persons who charged forth amidst the flames and shells to attack Vietnam, have appealed to others to learn from these "combat heroes." They have stolen from the soldiers of the Chinese People's Liberation Army who "helped the Celestial Court fight the Americans" in past years the esteemed title "Most Beloved Sons" and used it to enhance the image of the troops who invaded socialist Vietnam. In the press, they have endorsed works that provoke a bellicose attitude and the thinking of big country chauvinism toward Vietnam and encouraged one place to produce a play, another to show a film on the invasion of Vietnam. They have also "invited these men of talent" to the southern border of China, to recently occupied areas of Vietnam, encouraging them to praise the aggressor troops who died or are still living.

Coddled as it is by the reactionaries within China's ruling circles, what manner of literature is this literature that defends and embellishes the war of aggression against Vietnam?

It is primarily a literature of the press. While it is not prose and poetry on the Paracel Islands, which China availed itself of an opportunity to take from Vietnam in January 1974, it consists mainly of reports on and biographical sketches of units and individuals of the forces that invaded Vietnam in February 1979 who subsequently returned to China or met with their death in Vietnam.

A certain soldier from a certain native village, a member of the Communist Party of China, shoves a satchel charge through a rifle slot in a Vietnamese public security station. The charge is pushed back out. The soldier shoves it in again. It explodes, blowing the bunker apart. The soldier is also blown to pieces and made a "combat hero" by the Military Commission of the Party Central Committee. In "Tracing the Hero's Footsteps," everyone, first in his unit and then in his native village, praises the soldier and eulogizes him as worthy of being a hero.

"From the Rim of an Abyss to a Road Broad and Flat" is the "autobiography" of a notorious wayward youth during the years of the "Gang of Four" who has now gone off to fight Vietnam. Thinking about his relatives at home listening to the radio night after night and following the advance by their forces on a map, he becomes determined to fight for a truly resounding victory and is then accepted into the Communist Party of China right on the frontline. Tears streaming down his face, he writes a letter breaking off his relationship with his loved one so that he can go on with peace of mind to fight the enemy. He, too, is made a "combat hero" by the Military Commission of the Party Central Committee.

"The Eye of an Eagle in Its Nest" is also the story of a member of the Communist Party of China who, on the night of 16 February 1979, led his artillery observer unit 20 kilometers into Vietnamese soil. Their guide was someone who had previously come over to "help Vietnam" and was thus thoroughly familiar with the terrain. Like magicians, they erected and then moved their observation tower without ever being discovered by the opposition. As a result, they killed 340 "enemy troops" and directed heavy Chinese artillery

fire onto Vietnamese artillery positions, even onto fleeing Vietnamese forces. Of course, he, too, was made a "combat hero" by the Military Commission of the Party Central Committee and he, too, sent a letter to his wife telling her that she could raise their child without worry because he "was busy bravely fighting for the future generations of the fatherland"(!) and so forth, and so forth.

In general, all the biographies and reports that make up this criminal literature contain the same kind of embellishments and fit the same old mold. These works, which first came into existence after February 1979, have been compiled in book form under the borrowed title "The New Generation of Most Beloved Sons," which has been distributed within the Chinese army. In mid-1980, some of these "works" were chosen for printing as selected works, also under the title "The New Generation of Most Beloved Sons" for public distribution. Introductions to these works were written by Hua Guofeng, Ye Jianying, Deng Xiaoping, Xu Xiangqian and Je Yongchen and the preface entitled "The New Long March Requires Tens of Thousands of New Heroes and Soldiers" was written by Wei Guoqing, director of the Political General Department.

Defeated in their large-scale war, the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists turned to a wide-ranging war of sabotage against Vietnam and intensified their military encroachment along the border. And, reports and biographies have also been written on this encroachment, which has developed over the past several years into a border war of encroachment under the guideline "a small-scale war but large-scale fight." The strategem used by China has been the same since ancient times: to expand to a particular place, China first gives that place a Chinese name and henceforth considers it to be Chinese soil. Later, they find some expedient reason to take occupation of this place by force. In May 1981, along with occupying many hills in Vietnam's Ha Tuyen Province, including Hills 1800 A and B in Xin Man District, which they call their Guolin Mountain, and after spending one-half year making preparations, they mobilized two to three regiments and sacrificed some 400 troops to occupy Hill 400 in Cao Loc District in Vietnam's Lang Son Province, which they call their Faga Mountain (Chinese soldiers themselves have said: "When our superiors order us to attack, we attack and it makes no difference whether it is Chinese soil or Vietnamese soil because, when the fighting is over, it will all belong to China"). These actions prompted reports on those who attacked and held Pha Kha Mountain and Khau Lam Mountain. One was about the 7th Squad of the 5th Company, which bravely sacrificed their lives on 16 May 1981 on Pha Kha Mountain. Another was about the wife of the commander of the battalion stationed on Pha Kha Mountain, who was determined to help her husband hold onto the mountain "for the fatherland, for the people" and, as a result, rarely visited her husband's unit in order not to bother him. Still another praised the soldiers on Pha Kha Mountain, who made their battle position their home, dug a pond to raise fish, raised hogs, planted bananas, planted cassava and made Pha Kha Mountain greener with each passing day, made it a mountain overflowing with vitality. They were truly worthy of being most beloved sons. They sang a song entitled "I Love Faga Mountain, which was written by cadres and soldiers together.

The propaganda campaign launched by the Chinese expansionist apparatus proclaiming that to fight Vietnam is patriotic, to attack and occupy Faga, Guolin and so forth is to display a high degree of patriotism, prompted clandestine Bat Nhat Radio in China to exclaim: "This equates patriotism with loyalty to the country's rulers and with militarism"; "the works on patriotism of the kind written about the war against Vietnam and, more recently, about Pha Kha Mountain, reek of militarism."

But the biggest fuss of all has accompanied the medium-length novel entitled "The Wreath at the Foot of the High Mountain" written by a new writer, less than 30 years of age, named Sun Cunpan. The Chinese press has praised this novel at great length. RED FLAG Number 3, 1983 carried two commentaries, the second of which, written by Wang Yougan, corrected some points in the first, by Ting Ling, which stressed the fact that this work does not focus on the antagonisms among the people and within the army of China, on China's social ills today, but instead praises the "just war" "in which revolutionary heroism was displayed in abundance." The commentaries hailed the novel as "a new literary achievement in the field of military themes" and "a singular innovation in aesthetic style." In RED FLAG Number 5 and then again in Number 7, 1983, the novel was hailed as brilliant, as reflecting "the truth of life," the "light" of patriotic and communist "ideals"! Thus, "The Wreath at the Foot of the High Mountain" has been extolled as a representative work. But just what does it represent?

"The Wreath at the Foot of the High Mountain" tells about a forward company in the war of aggression against Vietnam in February 1979 that was ordered on 17 February to penetrate more than 20 kilometers into Vietnamese territory and occupy Hill 364 along a road leading into a Vietnamese city. All troops are portrayed as heroes. Peasants, the sons of generals and high ranking officers, all connoisseurs of the good life, childish, red guard style "intellectuals" and even bourgeoisie who have business ties with foreign countries and covet the liberal way of life of the bourgeois West--all stand shoulder to shoulder in the fight against Vietnam, all record this first feat of arms together, all are most beloved sons. The company commander is engrossed in his work, engrossed to the point of foresaking his annual leave to visit his family. The political officer, sloppy in his thinking and style and intent on returning to the city, is shunned by the rest of the company. Berated by his superiors, he leads this company into battle, not to take a bullet in the back of the head, but to become an exemplary political officer "who today still has not left his forward position on the border." Then, even the political officer's wife, a woman more interested in the tango, the rumba and disco dancing, a woman whose world was the world of perfumes, cosmetics, fine clothing, whiskey and so forth, is persuaded to accept an assignment on the border. Soldiers then rush to the command post like snowflakes blown in the wind to volunteer for combat duty. They all courageously cross the river, fight with exceptional bravery and win victories that cover their flags in flowers. In the rear, old mothers, sickly fathers, widows and orphans work with greater and greater productivity and are happy because the country has given them a gift. No one is demanding things from the state. The picture is quite clear: the book portrays an ideal army, an ideal rear area ready to wage war for China's leading expansionists and hegemonists! This ideal army, according to the book, must, of course, be modernized. Therefore, another

character, a "Beijing" soldier named Xun Wukun, materializes from nowhere, dreaming of becoming a future field marshall in a modern war, not just a general as his father was, a soldier who considered this planet small in comparison to his ambitions. And, at the end of the book, left in the shirt pocket of this soldier who died in battle is a letter that reeks of a bellicose attitude, of big country chauvinism, a letter instructing his father and his father's entire older generation about the need to turn to modern science and technology and seize Tomorrow for the grandchildren of the emperor, for the descendents of Hua Hu!

As it turns out, "The Wreath at the Foot of the High Mountain" has been hailed in China because it evokes hatred of Vietnam and has nothing but praise for those persons who invaded Vietnam but were deceived into thinking or lied to themselves and others that the war was only "retaliation in self-defense." It attempts to set at ease the minds of the people of the different nationalities in the rear area who experienced untold sorrow as a result of the aggression and encourages them to continue sacrificing their property and blood for the expansionist wars of their new gods. It provokes a bellicose attitude and big country chauvinist nationalism. It nurtures the expansionist and hegemonist dreams of the Zhongnanhai.

The literature written to defend and embellish the war of aggression against Vietnam, while truculent in tone and malicious in content, is actually spineless and anemic. Because, it is based on lies, on falsehoods.

Distorting as it does the very marrow of events, this literature is fiction not only in form, but in content as well. In "The Wreath at the Foot of the High Mountain," Political Officer Zhao Wangsen dashes from a meeting, screams to the bugler to hurriedly assemble the unit's troops and, standing in front of the assembled ranks, bites his hand to draw blood, pledging that he is not afraid to die, just like some general who has smeared a coat of lime on his face. In the collection of books entitled "The New Generation of Most Beloved Sons," countless persons with what are supposed to be real personal histories and authentic addresses--to borrow the words of the ancient Chinese poet Yuan Mei--"live only on the written page." Even though the "Beijing" soldier is a most detestable character who died the death he deserved in the unjust war, it is only characters such as this that display genuine, true-to-life traits--their bellicose nature, their big country chauvinism and their insane ambition.

But then how is any authenticity possible when, in writing about the war against Vietnam, they purposely conceal China's intention to squeeze Vietnam between two pincers, conceal their "grand ambition" to rule Indochina, to, as Mao said in 1965, see the "East wind flatten the West wind," which is the ambition that controls the thinking, the feelings and the plans of their commanders in this fight, and conceal behind a so called "patriotism," even a so called "Marxism-Leninism"(!) the fact that the majority of the soldiers who attacked Vietnam had little idea of what they were doing, were deceived, were ideologically indoctrinated and simply did what they were told to do by their superiors?

Only China's RED FLAG Journal dare proclaim as a "victory of revolutionary realism," as a splendid expression of the relationship among "reality-ideals-heroism" and so forth the works written on the war against Vietnam, works that do not dare address the real reasons for the war, namely, the refusal by independent and autonomous Vietnam to take the reactionary pro-U.S, anti-Soviet path of China's rulers, the fact that these big country hegemonists do not want a unified, powerful Vietnam standing in the way of their expansionist designs and the fact that they have artfully provoked national hatred by falsely accusing and slandering Vietnam, by stirring feelings of big country chauvinism, etc. By distorting basic reality, this literature that defends and embellishes the war of aggression against Vietnam must, in order to deceive readers, present some details that are indeed factual. These are found in the description of difficult marches through the mountainous jungles of Vietnam, where the bamboo forms a natural barrier, where the grasses and briars are higher than a man's head, where even in the spring the temperature rises to 35 degrees...where the atmosphere resembles the "noxious and poisonous emanations" of Vietnam described in China's history books on the subjugation of the South. They are found in the gunfire and flames of battle, in the casualties, the tears, the old mothers, widows and orphans. They are found in the calamity that was the great cultural revolution. They are found in the statements that, within China's army, simply throwing one-half of an uneaten cake into the garbage is almost enough to bring accusations of the kind seen in the "cultural revolution"; that there is a very wide gap between the living conditions and way of life of the soldier; that some cadres, because they are frank and sincere, are not trusted and their achievements are not correctly evaluated; that the wives of some men in high positions are adept at conniving, at getting the entire squad of their grandson who wears the braid of an officer "transferred in a circle" until they are all back taking it easy and enjoying themselves in the city, etc.

However, besides these factual details are innumerable fabricated details and outright lies. For example, the author Sun Cunpan, singing the same tune as his expansionist bosses, exclaims that the "retaliation in self-defense" for which more than 600,000 troops of several armies were mobilized was carried out "reluctantly, without preparation, was done hurriedly" and that "along China's border defense line in Yunnan Province, there was a border but no defenses (?), while, on the Vietnamese side, there were bunkers of all sizes crowded tightly together with guns protruding through their darkened rifle slots aimed at the chests of Chinese troops." Sometimes, barbarous actions taken by Chinese aggressor forces are unjustly attributed to the Vietnamese side. For example, he states that as Chinese troops, their throats scorched from thirst, were attacking and occupying a hill, Vietnamese forces threw poison down a nearby well before fleeing! Elsewhere, he indulgently expresses the vengeful attitude of "destroying what you cannot use," of committing the wanton murder, looting, destruction and plunder associated with aggressor forces but then goes on to claim that Chinese forces "did not touch one needle or one piece of thread belonging to the people of Vietnam." The aggressor army is portrayed as an army of saintly soldiers who set an example by "being well disciplined and loving the people," who helped the elderly, cared for women in childbirth and were immediately called in for criticism and a lecture at a party chapter meeting just as they were about to break off a piece of sugarcane to quench their thirst! Therefore, when they learned that Chinese

troops were withdrawing, citizens of Vietnam from surrounding areas came running forth, gave them hens as gifts and put eggs into the shirt pockets of soldiers. Young girls huddled together, lowered their heads and giggled under their breath. Children played hide and seek among the rows of troops. Hundreds of villagers, men and women, young and old alike, stood in the rain to bid the troops a fond farewell! But this is not all, Sun Cunpan also arrogantly states that "this time, our forces were sent into battle (to commit aggression) not only for the sake of the interests of the people of China, but also the interests of the people of Vietnam" because "the Viet rebels are truly a pack of bandits": on the 30th and on the 1st and 2nd days of Tet, they sounded false alarms that sent citizens fleeing into the mountains whereupon they entered each household's kitchen, ate all the rice cakes cooking on the stoves and stole all the dishes that had been prepared for Tet. They also stole chickens from an elderly widow, who had to go to Chinese forces and ask them to stop Vietnamese forces and get her chickens back, etc.

Such absurd nonsense! But, no doubt they think that without writing such things, they cannot defend or embellish their unjust war. Thus, in this criminal literature, non-fiction and fiction are intermixed, but it is fiction that predominates. Factual details are nothing more than the background for fictitious details, nothing more than labels used to market a phony product called "retaliation in self-defense."

By misrepresenting an unjust war as a just war, by defending aggression as retaliation in self-defense and by embellishing expansionism to make it look like patriotism, this criminal literature's ultimate aims are to illustrate, explain and popularize the following several guidelines:

1. To slander and misrepresent Vietnam in order to build hatred of the enemy, to cast Vietnam as a petty-hegemonist, as ungrateful, as a "third rate military power" whose evil intention it is to expand, to violate China's border.

2. To say that all soldiers and officers, be they rich or poor, good or bad, "white cats or black cats," are determined to fight Vietnam to safeguard the four modernizations; to further state that practically everyone was, either directly or indirectly, a victim of the "cultural revolution," of the "Gang of Four," and that everyone exchanged letters with their wives or lovers in which they promised to be faithful and sacrifice their love for the fatherland; and to state that many persons have been accepted into the party while on the frontlines.

3. To praise the heroic frontlines as fighting very hard and very bravely, praise the rear area as a place of prosperity, tranquility and happiness. The armed forces and the people of the entire country rejoice over victory.

Like the literature "written by Mao" that preceded it, this literature "written by Deng" seeks to explain and advance a preconceived notion, regardless of what reality actually is.

From an ideological standpoint, the literature written to defend and embellish the war of aggression against Vietnam is reactionary. From an artistic

standpoint, it fits the same old mold but is still very dangerous. Because, it also has flowery language and flair that deceive readers and is being extolled by Chinese ruling circles, being spread in a country in which pragmatism and obscurantism are widespread. It deceives the people of China into sending their sons and daughters to wage war for their expansionist and hegemonist leaders. It further undermines the neighborly relations and long-standing friendship between the two peoples of Vietnam and China. It taints literary society and tarnishes the modern literature of China. It proclaims itself and is considered by China's ruling circles to be literature but is only "Dao Zheng honey" literature to be spread on door to the soul of the Chinese people.(1)

The time will come when the laboring people of China recall the words spoken by Lu Qin in ancient times and shout at those who harbor the dream of expansionism and those who make propaganda for expansion: "We will not be deceived any longer. If you want to fight, fight them yourselves!"(2)

#### FOOTNOTES

1. A Chinese story: Liao Hehua said that honey is for your older years. Little Dao Zheng (a thief) said that honey can be applied to a latch to make it easier for him to open a door.
2. Lu Qin: "Miscellaneous Works," Volume II, Literary Publishing House, Hanoi, 1963, pp 332-333.

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## COVER PAGES

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 10, Oct 85 Inside Front Cover, Inside Back Cover, Outside Back Cover

[Text] Inside Front Cover

"Our youths must endeavor to learn... To build socialism, they must possess knowledge. They must learn culture, politics and technology. They must learn Marxist-Leninist theory in combination with their daily struggle and work. They must learn the good experiences of associated Youth Unions. Their learning must go hand in hand with practice...

They must take the lead, must set the example in patriotic emulation movements. They must put into practice the slogan 'Youths are present wherever they are needed by the party, youths perform every job that is difficult.'"

Ho Chi Minh  
(1961)

Inside Back Cover

Dear readers,

On the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the publication of the first issue of TAP CHI CONG SAN (15 December 1955-15 December 1985), our editorial board respectfully extends to readers affectionate greetings and the very best of wishes.

Over the years, through their observations, criticisms, words of encouragement and suggestions, you have actively helped to build the Review. For this, we extend our sincere thanks.

On this the 30th anniversary of the birth of the Review, we solicit your criticisms of the articles published in the Review, your suggestions concerning new themes and subjects that should be dealt with in the Review and any other opinions you might have related to improving the contents and form of the Review.

We thank you in advance for your constructive opinions aimed at continuously improving the quality of the theoretical and political organ of the party and helping the editorial board to complete its task well in the new stage of the revolution.

We wish you good health, happiness and many new achievements.

The Editorial Board of TAP CHI CONG SAN

Send your letters to us to the following address:

TAP CHI CONG SAN  
1, Nguyen Thuong Hien Street, Hanoi

On the envelope write: response to opinions survey (no stamp needed).

Notice!

--Except for those articles which, at the decision of the Party Central Committee, must be published in all publications, TAP CHI CONG SAN does not publish articles that have been or will be published elsewhere.

--Please do not send to TAP CHI CONG SAN articles that have been or will be sent to other newspapers.

--Drafts of articles not published are not returned to their authors.

--Publications that reprint an article appearing in TAP CHI CONG SAN are asked to please include the following notation: "This article has been published in TAP CHI CONG SAN."

Outside Back Cover

The Workers Cultural Palace--a gift from the working class of the Soviet Union to the working class of Vietnam [these words surround a darkened circle set in the middle of the page. The hammer and sickle and a small star appear in the upper left hand corner of the darkened circle. In the upper right hand corner is a single large star. Stretching across and extending beyond the edges of the darkened circle is the drawing of a large, three story building. Extending from either side of the back cover toward the center and set in the foreground of the building are two hands clasped in a handshake.]

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END

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